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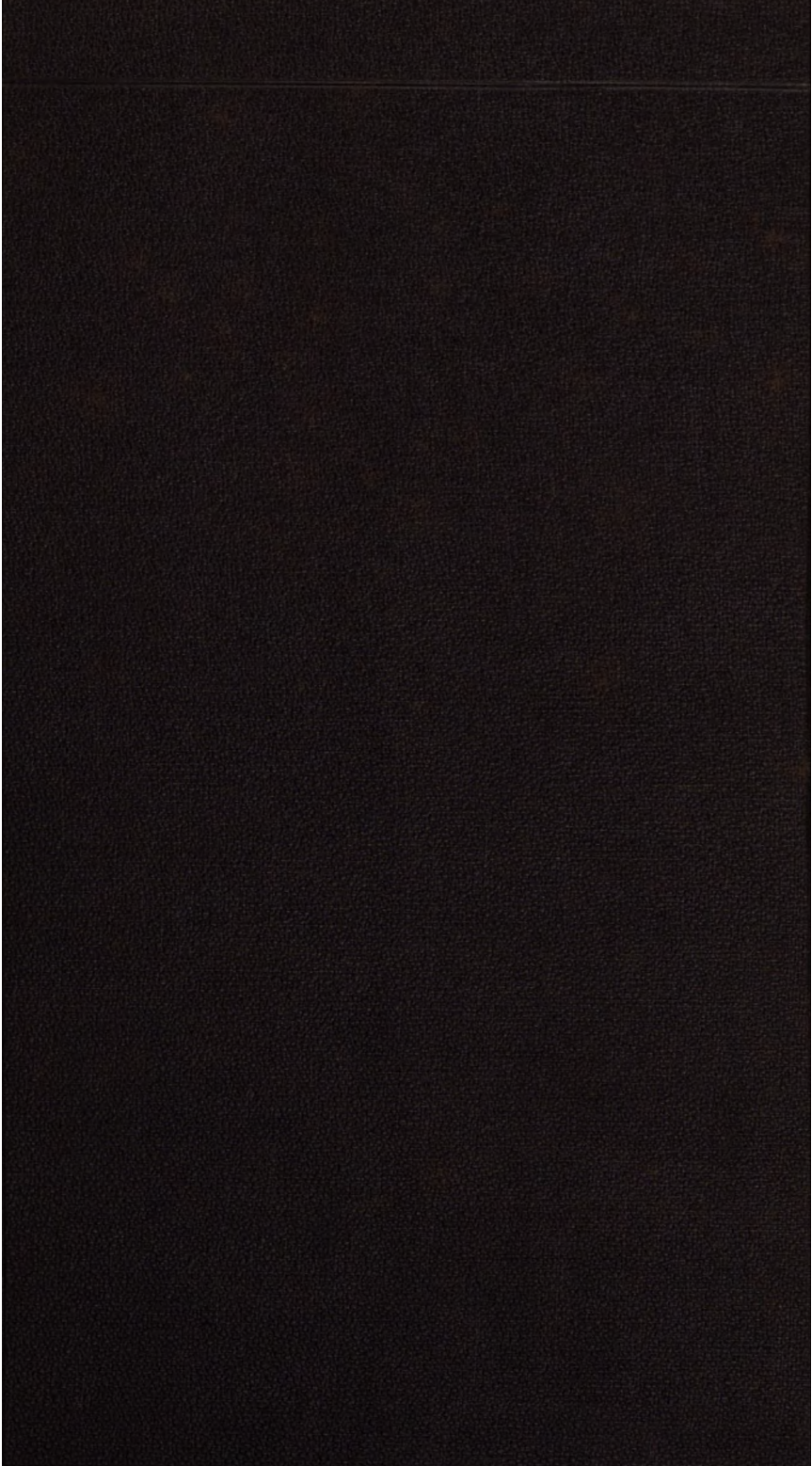
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## CHRISTIAN DOGMA ESSENTIAL

- I. TO CHRISTIAN TEACHING.
- II. TO THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.
- III. TO THE BEING AND WORK OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

**T**HIS certainly is no new theme: but an old theme may become new in its interest, if not in its substance, under the pressure of threatened danger, or under the influence of some fresh drift in the thought or life of the time. There are some—nay many, let us hope,—who will see in the above heading simply an axiom of Christianity. Let all such pass on to other pages in this volume. The inquiry now proposed is not intended for them. The writer has been led to consider the subject chiefly for the following reasons:

- I. There is a large body of thinkers outside the Church who have avowedly thrown over Christian dogmas, and relegated Theology as a whole to the limbo of things outlawed and exploded by the progress of modern thought. They tell us in substance that science is what we know; religion is what we do not know and belongs to the region of feeling. What we only feel we cannot formulate. Feeling is at once too vague and elastic to be solidified and

cast into definite propositions. But even if religion could be so treated, it does not admit of verification by facts, as all real, positive knowledge does.

2. There is a school within the Church sheltered by its tolerant comprehensiveness, and apparently growing in popularity, which holds that, inasmuch as neither identity of faith nor identity of order is any longer available as a basis of unity, there is but one other strictly religious basis of unity left—that of loyalty to the Person of Christ. It tells us in every variety of phrase that our position can be no longer theological or dogmatic, that we are more concerned with life than with creeds, with what men do more than with what they believe, with piety more than with speculation.

3. As a result of both these estimates of Theology, the average preaching of to-day rather felicitates itself on its freedom from the trammels of any scheme of divinity. It is ethical, sentimental, humanitarian; but certainly it does not "take heed unto the doctrine." In respect of intellectual power and general learning it ranks as high perhaps as ever before; but in its reaction from what has come to be regarded as the excessive dogmatism of by-gone days, it is drifting toward utter vagueness and inanition in its doctrinal teaching. It may have been that our fathers had too much to say on God's sovereignty and man's liberty, on a limited or a universal atonement, on justification by faith and covenant grace, on the fall of man and original sin, on repentance and forgiveness, on sanctification, and kindred subjects; but it is certain that in our day they are in not a few pulpits as though they were not and had never been.\*

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\* The tone of much of our preaching is affected by the prevalent desire to be "up with the times"; and what "the times" demand is determined by the average thoughts, interests, and aims of the average man of the day. The first object of the preacher is to get a hearing. So quite naturally he discourses on subjects calculated to catch the popular ear. It is not, perhaps, that he dislikes doctrine or ignores the importance of teaching it; but the greater part of those whom he addresses prefer something else, and he governs himself by that preference. It is not so much what they ought to hear, as what they wish to hear that shapes his course. Thus it comes to pass that, as any Saturday evening or Sunday morning newspaper will show, we have so many sermons, that, at best, give little more than "a coasting welcome" to the doctrines of the Gospel and the Church—sermons on "the press" and "the telegraph"—on "the moral aspects of rapid transit"—on "civil service reform"—on "capital and labor"—on

Among ourselves there is a numerous school whose thought has been somewhat withdrawn from these themes only because it was believed that more important aspects of Theology had been long neglected, and that the time had come for bringing these aspects more boldly to the front. So that of late years much of our most able and learned preaching has been occupied with a fresh handling of the doctrine of the Incarnation and its relations to the

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"the safeguards of the ballot"—on "the duties of the citizen"—on "the uses and bearings of science"—on "the ethical relations of art"—on "agitation the parent of progress"—on "free trade as a civilizer and a bond of national comity"—on "the mutual obligation of landlord and tenant," and on a hundred other themes having to do with society and the state, with industry and commerce with currency and rents.

Moreover, the drift in this direction has been greatly stimulated by some public teachers of high authority who tell us that it is quite time that the pulpit should emancipate itself from ecclesiasticism and dogma—that the Christ is a contemporary Christ—that He is a man and that nothing can be foreign to Him that concerns man—that though He said "my kingdom is not of this world" yet that to be a living kingdom—to be a practical force amid the activities of the hour, it must mingle with affairs, follow men into all their callings, discuss all their interests, look after social reforms, take part in current politics, and generally bear itself as the salt wherewith all life is to be seasoned and purified. In all this there is a measure of truth: but the pulpit of the time is in no humor to discriminate carefully between the too little and the too much. It has already caught the infection of secularism, and such teaching is construed in a way that tends to aggravate the disease. The foremost function of the Gospel and therefore of the pulpit is to prepare men for another life—to wean their affections from worldly things—to teach them that this world is not their true home. Much of our preaching is sorely tempted to put another and lower function in the place of this. The Master as He went about Judea and mingled with the masses might have found ample reason and opportunity for becoming a social and political reformer. A thousand things in the condition of His country and in that of the Roman Empire must have lain heavily on his heart, but beyond the injunction "to render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's," there is scarcely any trace of his direct interest in strictly worldly affairs. So with S. Paul at Corinth—the great centre of traffic on the overland route from Rome to the East and proverbial for wealth, luxury and profligacy. There must have been much in it, on the civil and secular side of its life to attract the Apostle's attention and to call out his opinions as a man and a citizen of the Roman Empire. And yet it was just there that he "determined not to know anything save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." It is certain that the tendency of the pulpit now is not toward, but away from the simplicity of the Gospel and the supreme obligation to proclaim it in its fulness and purity. This being so, those must be mistaken and ill advised counsels, however well meant, that help on this tendency.

Sacraments and the Church, and through these to the means and conditions of individual salvation. And yet the tendency which has suggested this discussion has a strong hold upon us, and, unless the writer greatly misjudges the symptoms of the time, that hold is getting stronger rather than weaker under the sympathy and stimulation which it receives from the general current of living thought.

First let it be settled what a Christian dogma is. Generally speaking, a dogma is a positive truth enjoined by authority. Christian dogma is truth revealed and certified by Divine, and, therefore, infallible authority. Thus revealed and certified its acceptance is obligatory. Opinions, conjectures, speculations pass up into the realm of accepted truth only after examination, argument, satisfactory proof. We accept dogma not because we can prove it to be true apart from the authority on which it is declared: but because of the authority which declares it: though once accepted, it is entirely competent and proper that we should widen out the basis of proof by appealing to evidence independent of such authority. Briefly, dogma, and eminently Christian dogma, expresses a "settled and certain truth, an attained resting place for belief, from which, as from the axioms of mathematical science, we may confidently argue." Stability, certainty, and authority are its distinguishing characteristics.

Let me now return to the reasons assigned for this discussion. The first and second having been noticed, the third will be left to be disposed of by the results to which, it is believed, these thoughts will bring us. The first turns upon the question whether Theology can justify its claim to a place in the domain of ascertained knowledge, and whether the term science as applied to it is not a misnomer. It is confidently asserted by the more advanced unbelief of our time that Theology has no proper basis of fact, and that neither at any point along its circumference, nor at its centre, does it exhibit the stability, certainty, and authority which are the necessary qualities of positive truth. But this is simply to assert that Christianity has no place in the world of facts, and this again is only equivalent to saying that it has no history: and that what claims to be such bleaches out, when sifted, into myth, romance, imposture.

If, to be a science, Theology must be founded on facts susceptible of satisfactory verification according to the

accepted canons of all evidence and all reasoning, then it may be affirmed, without fear of successful contradiction, that no branch of human knowledge rests on a more solid foundation. No facts in the history of the world are better authenticated than the facts of Christ's life on earth. None certainly have been more fearlessly challenged, more acutely criticised, or more exhaustively treated in all possible ways. The various theories invented to dislodge them from their place as facts are among the most remarkable fruits of human ingenuity. Each in succession has come upon the stage vaunting its power to resolve the Gospel records into the rubbish of exploded traditions. It were a trite and needless task to go over what has been attempted in this way, and still more so to recite the story of the inglorious failures of hostile learning on this field. Happily we are passing into an era of sounder, soberer criticism which, while making due allowance for admitted difficulties in the Gospel narratives, exposes the folly of all attempts to shake their historical accuracy and, consequently, the historical character of Christ. If the Gospels be not authentic, veritable history, there is no history and the laws of evidence are hopelessly swept away. This, substantially, is the ground taken by the best learning to-day: and this closes the controversy; for it is impossible to plan a new mode of assault upon the record of Christianity. But granted the Christ of history, and all is granted that is needful to lift Theology into the foremost rank among all the departments of knowledge. He is the greatest fact of the ages, and the thought that represents Him, that sets in orderly array His marvellous acts whether of speech or of conduct, that formulates, as the basis and superstructure of faith, His message to man is the greatest thought. Theology is Christian because it is founded upon Him. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." A philosophy of religion is well enough in its place; so with *a priori* arguments for the existence of God. But of infinitely more moment than these, or than any doctrine or theory of inspiration, or even the Canon of the New Testament, broader than human knowledge, more obvious than the most cogent logic, and as conclusive as the data of any science of nature, is the solitary fact lifting itself above the cycles of time and the revolutions of the world, that Jesus Christ lived, taught, suffered, died and rose again. Does the modern spirit ask us to put ourselves face to face



with fact, to name the data that shall verify our religion, which, we freely admit, must be a belief before it can be a knowledge, we have only to advance to the front this one central figure of all history. Nor is this the only, though it be the sufficient, basis of Theology. The appeal to history may be the easiest method of proof, but it is no more convincing than the appeal to human experience, to the consciousness of individual and collective humanity, to its hopes and fears, its needs and sorrows, its sin and suffering; and to the completeness with which all were met in Christ "the desire of all nations." But it is of the last consequence in these days that we insist that the objective ground of Theology is of at least equal validity with that discoverable in every soul of man. Here, and here only, data of history and data of consciousness, data of testimony and data of reason combine to establish *what we most yearn to know*; and yet what a certain pretentious phase of living thought pronounces *unknowable, and because unknowable, incapable of formulation and unworthy to be named a science!*\*

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\* A living writer aptly asks: "Are we to limit our idea of knowledge by the evidence of our senses? then we exclude ethics; by intuition? we exclude history; by testimony? we exclude metaphysics; by abstract reasoning? we exclude physics. But the being of a God is reported to us by testimony, is handed down by history, is inferred by an inductive process, is brought home to us by metaphysical necessity, is urged upon us by the suggestions of conscience. It is a truth in the natural order, as well as in the supernatural. And when obtained, what is its worth? Is it a great truth or a small one? Say that no other religious idea were given but it, and you have enough to fill the mind: you have at once a whole dogmatic system. The word "God" is a Theology in itself, indivisibly one, inexhaustibly various, from the vastness and simplicity of its meaning. Admit a God, and you introduce among the subjects of your knowledge, a fact encompassing, closing in upon, absorbing every other fact conceivable. All true principles run over with it, all phenomena converge to it: it is truly the First and the Last. In word indeed, and in idea it is easy enough to divide knowledge into human and divine, secular and religious, and to lay down that we will address ourselves to the one without interfering with the other; but it is impossible in fact. We will soon break up into fragments the whole circle of secular knowledge, if we begin the mutilation with the Divine." In these days the reality of Divine knowledge, *i.e.*, of revealed truth, is set aside by one or by both of two expedients—by affirming that nothing is or can be known for certain about the being of God, the origin of the world, the destiny of man, or by resolving what religion offers to or requires from us into a matter of individual opinion or sentiment admitting of indefinite variations both in substance and form, and to be accounted as truly peculiarities, idiosyncracies, accidents of the individual, as the hue of his skin or the

I come now to the second reason why Christian dogma is a useless, if not a grievous, burden. We are told that there is no longer any hope of unity among Christians on the basis of identity of belief or creed, and still less on the basis of agreement in ecclesiastical polity. These being disposed of, there is but one other ground of unity left—personal loyalty to Christ. Certainly this is a strong ground—even an unassailable one. But to be available as such, through a series of generations, it cannot be divorced from the other two. There must be one Faith as

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height of his stature. If the former be taken, then it fully explains how it comes to pass that we can have, as some would assure us, "a system of universal knowledge teaching of plants, and earths, and creeping things, and beasts, and gases, about the crust of the earth and the change of the atmosphere, about Sun, Moon and stars, about man and his doings, about the history of the world, about sensation, memory, and the passions, about duty, about cause and effect, about all things imaginable, except one—and that is about Him that made all these things, about God. In other words, knowledge, as regards the creature, is illimitable, but impossible or hopeless as regards the existence and attributes and works of the Creator." If, on the other hand, the latter course be adopted, then Religion is not expected to impart any positive knowledge or real truth whatever, but simply to satisfy vague desires after the Unseen which will arise in our minds in spite of ourselves, "to provide the mind with a means of self-command, to impress on it the beautiful ideas which saints and sages have struck out, to embellish it with the bright hues of a celestial piety, to teach it the poetry of devotion, the music of well-ordered affections, and the luxury of doing good." In either case Religion has no ground of its own to stand upon—no objective reality—no unchangeable truth—nothing to furnish the material for formulated divine knowledge, or Theology. This generation has been helped to this conclusion by a good deal of the Protestant thinking and teaching during the past century. Said Cardinal Newman more than thirty years ago, "The old Catholic notion which still lingers in the Established Church, was, that Faith was an intellectual act, its object truth, and its result knowledge. Thus if you look into the Anglican Prayer Book, you will find definite *credenda*, as well as definite *agenda*: but in proportion as the Lutheran heaven spread, it became fashionable to say that Faith was, not an acceptance of revealed doctrine, not an act of the intellect, but a feeling, an emotion, an affection, an appetency; and as this view of Faith obtained, so was the connection of Faith with Truth and Knowledge more and more either forgotten or denied: until men came to believe and to take it for granted that Religion was nothing beyond a *supply* of the wants of human nature, not an external fact and a work of God: *i.e.*, that its essence was to be found not in what God *says*, but in what man *feels*"—not in objective entities out of which reason may construct a positive science, but in inward persuasions and consolations, in pleasurable or painful experiences, sudden changes and sublime fancies.

well as one Lord : one Baptism, one Body of which Baptism is the only door of entrance, one fundamental norm or type of corporate organization, as well as one Spirit, one God and Father of all. So the Word of God builds up and compacts and perpetuates the unity of His people. We are reminded, indeed, (and the school now referred to is never weary of pressing the point) that Christianity did not enter the world as a creed or a catechism or a liturgy, that it did not come as a dogma thinkable or unthinkable; but that it came as a man, and in the might and glory of a personal life, that it gave us first not ideas, but facts, the facts of a personal history. This is all true, but it is not the whole truth. It did not come, indeed, as a creed, catechism, liturgy, or dogma, or as a set of ideas; but it did come in the double shape, the indissoluble union of a Kingdom with its King; of something founded with its Founder; of something organized with its Organizer. And the thing founded, organized, was so founded and so organized as not only to acknowledge as its supreme law and motive power the personal life of the Founder and Organizer, but also to develop and propagate itself through the ages according to a type of unity which reflected the oneness of the Head in identity of Faith, identity of Sacraments, identity of Order. What God joined together let no man put asunder. This is the only statement that makes room for, and harmoniously co-ordinates, the facts of the New Testament as found in the Gospels, in the Acts and in the Epistles. God forbid that, under the stress of difficulties and embarrassments, divisions and complications of the present, we should fall away into the shallows of an emasculating latitudinarianism on this vital subject.

Follow Christ, it is said, accept Him, and you have the only basis of unity that is broad enough for all : you have the only theology, the only dogma which this age will endure. Follow Christ! but what Christ? a human or a divine Christ? a Christ who gave Himself as a sacrifice for the sins of the world—the very lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world? or a Christ who taught by example how every man can be his own saviour? the Christ of the Nicene Creed, or the Christ of Arius? the Christ of the Holy Catholic Church to-day, or the Christ of Theodore Parker, of Gregg and Strauss? The instant this question forces a reply, the simple tones of exhortation—follow Christ apart from any dogma or theology of

Christ—are lost amid the surges of the great controversy which seeks to determine who and what He was. Even Pilate's question, "What is truth?" returns upon us as though it had never been answered. If Christ is to be followed, Christ must be taught: if He is to be taught, there must be a doctrine of Christ to teach—a Christology, and if a Christology, then, of necessity, a Theology, and if a Theology, then truth formulated into dogma. Practically, an undefined is an unteachable Christ. His personality, and with this His authority, fades away into the ambiguous, unsubstantial, fluctuating object of a sentiment, a worship, an obedience as uncertain and shifting as itself. It is impossible, not for this or that individual, perhaps, but certainly for a generation of men or a succession of generations, to reap the benefits which He came to confer, unless we build up on the facts of His life a definite system of belief and practice; or, rather, unless we accept the formulated interpretation of those facts furnished us by the wisdom and piety of the Catholic Body of all the ages ordained by Himself to be the pillar and ground of the truth, the witness and guardian of the records which tell us who He was, and what He came to do. Apart from the creed-definitions and distinctions framed by the continuous and universal consciousness of the Church, as the commissioned interpreter of the Scriptures, there is nothing left us but this or that individual's guesses and speculations, or at most opinions and notions about Christ which, if at all earnest, will be saturated with a dogmatism at once narrow, intolerant, and capricious; besides leaving, as questions open to perpetual debate, nearly every essential verity of Christianity. In fact, the only reasonable, practical, effective loyalty to Christ, is loyalty to the Church's witness to Christ and therefore loyalty to the Church's dogmas concerning Christ.\* To offer us Christ

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\* The recent secession from the Church of England of Rev. Stopford Brooke and his avowed leadership of a new movement in religion only add one more to the many proofs and illustrations already presented by sundry phases of the religious thought of the time of the truth of the position here taken. For many years an enthusiastic disciple and finally the loving biographer of the celebrated Robertson, he is understood to claim that his new departure is only the legitimate and even necessary result of the logical application of the method of that remarkable thinker and preacher. Robertson died while striving to reconcile the new light of science with the Ancient Creed of the Church; and what he failed to do, Mr. Brooke asserts, cannot be done. Therefore, with commendable honesty, Mr. Brooke abandons

apart from a defined doctrine of Christ is but a vain conceit—a piece of misleading sophistry whose folly and weakness no man would question, but for the cross-currents and schismatic alienations of our modern religion.

I pass on now to consider aspects of my general theme, which, if duly heeded, will help to stay the present undoc-trinal drift of the living pulpit. I shall assume as proven two factors in the discussion, viz., the Holy Scriptures as the written Word of God and the Church as the keeper and witness of that Word. If there be those who deny these and yet hold their place and office as Christian teachers, they are not referred to in these thoughts. It is idle to mark boundaries even in the widest field for those who insist that all fences are needless and obsolete. I speak to those who have wandered somewhat from the old paths—who have yielded, up to the verge of danger, to the seductive compromises of so-called liberalism, and yet have no thought of lending themselves to the task of breaking up the ancient foundations: men who retain our sympathy and confidence, though they alarm us by their wayward utterances and eccentric affiliations.

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the Church and strikes out into a wider orbit than could be found within her limits. No previous view of Christ elaborated by any known branch of the general school of Free Thought satisfies him. Accepting the law of evolution as the final and sufficient explanation of man and nature in their relations to God, he cuts loose from the materialism and agnosticism which it has encouraged, if not sanctioned, in most of its believers, and seeks to find in it a key to the phenomena of the spiritual world, and also a comprehensive basis for a new and more rational religion. The outcome of this fresh attempt to substitute something for Christianity which shall retain the name of Christian, and yet not be Christianity, is a strange medley of philosophic conceits and spiritual aspirations, of subjective frames and objective verities. The author of it tells us that Christ is no longer miraculous to him, no longer absolute God, and yet that he finds in Christ the highest revelation of God to man, and the life that best interprets the mission and destiny of man. There is no room or occasion for the supernatural in the Christian sense. What has been understood as the central miracle of the Gospel—the Incarnation of the Son of God—was simply a natural and orderly evolution of the Divine consciousness reached by slow and regular antecedent stages, and uttering itself articulately in Jesus, the Jew. There was neither mystery nor marvel in it. So far as it needs or can have any explanation, it must find it within the limits of a theory whose fundamental principle is the unbroken continuity of all being and all life from the beginning, and which recognizes no forces save those working from within nature's order. But, in the Scriptural and Christian sense, the Incarnation has no meaning except as it embodies a Divine force:

Let us first examine briefly the reasons assigned by this class of minds for their scant courtesy toward doctrinal formulas and their eclectic liberalism in the treatment of all Systematic Divinity. We are bound to believe that they do not act without reasons, and that the reasons on which they do act are not only plausible, but satisfactory to themselves.

1. It is said that the very atmosphere of Dogmatic Theology is full of stir and commotion. On all sides there is evidence of unsettlement and doubt. Departures from the teaching of the Fathers and relaxation of the great historical standards of faith have become so bold and frequent as to be reckoned among the accepted features of the times. The old joints of dogma once so stiff and hard are now plastic and flexible. The dissolving power of some invisible hand seems to be upon them. Everywhere change and decay are ravelling out the once clear cut edges of Christian teaching.

working from without, and so an immediate and special, though fore-ordained, intervention of Godhead in the affairs of the world.

Mr. Brooke, having stript Christ of the miraculous, magnifies Him as the Master—the ideal Man—the fountain of spiritual life—the exemplar of all highest moral truths—the essential norm of human development. And yet strangely enough, the philosophy that obliges him to eliminate the miraculous from the Gospel and character and work of Christ, while still, as he thinks, allowing him to claim for Christ the foremost spiritual leadership—the noblest spiritual empire, leaves it, to say the least, an open question whether or no there are such things in the universe as causation, free will, moral responsibility, sin as the act of a wrong will, holiness as the state of a good will. If we are to have a new and improved religion, based on evolution, let it in all fairness be a religion that shall harmonize with its own genetic principle, including nothing that this principle rejects or leaves in absolute doubt, and omitting nothing that this principle asserts as of fundamental importance to its own consistency and integrity. Mr. Brooke abandons the Church because he cannot reconcile its Creed with some of the results of modern inquiry. To be consistent, and for the same reason, he must abandon either the philosophy or so-called science, which has in good part prompted his new departure, or the facts of man's moral consciousness that are in open conflict with it. To accept the miraculous feature of Christianity may tax over-much the credulity of the human mind, but this burden is light compared with that imposed by the theory of evolution when offered as a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of religion, or as a sufficient answer to the spiritual wants of the human soul. Mr. Brooke's Christ adds only another to the many melancholy failures of rationalism; while, at the same time, it affords fresh proof of the Church's wisdom in teaching, and the Church's duty in adhering to, her traditional, clearly defined dogmas relating to the true Christ—very God and very Man.

But admitting that such is the drift, if it be a wrong one, how does it excuse any ordained guardian of the Faith once delivered for floating with it? Whatever the gale, he should be the last man to let his anchor drag. He excuses himself for what he has thrown over by the power of the seas dashing against him. Is he ready to throw over the rest of the cargo for the same reason? The drift of the time cuts under not only what he has surrendered, but under nearly all in morals as well as faith that he wishes to retain. The process once begun of purchasing peace on any terms can end only in an absolute capitulation to the enemy.

2. But it is claimed that we have not made sufficient allowance for the human element in Theology. Divine Truth, Divine Revelation are one thing, the human generalizations of that Truth, the human fashioning and interpretation of that Revelation are another. What God has really said, and what man has built up on that saying into formula and system, are by no means of co-ordinate value and authority. Like nature itself, the facts on which Theology rests are of God, but the Theology is of man. Fluctuation and instability, therefore, are inevitable, and they must not be harshly judged who fail to discern exactly where they begin and end. On this ground considerable latitude must be allowed for the play of individual minds. Liberty of speculation and even of teaching is, we are told, too noble and sacred a right to be seriously hindered because of its abuse. All that is really solid in Theology is made only more so by being freely challenged. This is one of the cleverest of all the apologies offered for doctrinal looseness and indifference. It over-states some things and forgets others. The human element in Theology is not so large as it pretends; nor is the margin for change so very wide as it asserts. We must discriminate between the Theology which bears the imprimatur of the whole Body of Christ, and which has been handed on from age to age unmodified in any essential particular by the progress of the human mind in other branches of knowledge; and the theology which has been in the keeping of the multifarious, ever shifting sect-life of the last three centuries. Every new sect has attempted to fortify itself by recasting the one great tradition of truth, so as to find in it adequate sanction for the one or two peculiarities which gave it name and character. With this aim men have been tempted to do strange things.

With the uprising of every new school, Theology has had to bear some fresh infusion of metaphysical reasoning and speculative exaggeration. Thus, to say nothing of the pre-Reformation times, there has been introduced in recent centuries into Theology far more of the human element than it can safely accommodate. Very naturally, therefore, all theologians occupying a catholic standpoint have regarded with entire complacency much of the shaking-up of the Theology born of the sect-spirit. To serve a purpose, many a pious opinion was elevated into an article of faith, and what had always been regarded as the open field for independent thought was gradually narrowed more and more to meet sectarian exigencies. Now much of the apparent upheaval and unsettlement of Christian doctrines is the fruit of an inevitable reaction from this. Opinions, which never should have been anything else, are dropping down from the assumed dignity of Catholic dogmas to their own place. This process includes and accounts for not a little of the dogmatic confusion and license of these times. When we are told of the decay of a score of *isms*, this is the meaning and explanation of it. It is a wholesome decay, and will empty many an artery of modern sectism only to make way for the return of healthier blood. Aside from this, the belt within which dogmatic fluctuations have been confined, is too slight to justify the boasts of a school who will have it that all creeds and formulas, all definite Theology, whether Primitive and Catholic or Modern and Sectarian, are alike being pulverized under the hammer of living criticism.

But there is another consideration which I would urge upon the class of minds now alluded to. Supposing that there are all the uncertainty and instability alleged to exist; supposing that the main timbers of the great structure of dogma are threatened with fire or with dry rot, no one has yet made it quite clear what is to take their place. The destructionist may be having free course, but the builders of the new order have not yet appeared. May it not be well, then, to hold fast to old things which are definite and positive, and which have done some good service for the human soul, rather than to surrender them in favor of the undefined and shapeless new things crowded upon us by adventurers and explorers, who are ready to take any risk for the sake of the novelty and excitement of their vocation? Ordinarily, it is not prudent to give up one's



house and fare forth into the night winds, until we have some good assurance that proper shelter has been provided elsewhere. But aside from any prudential reason, the old has a claim upon us which should not be lightly shaken off. Granted that the historic creeds, the ancient dogmas were man-made; they ought not to be given up as valueless. What they have done, they, in some degree, are doing now. Even the pressure of this advanced age has not driven all the vital sap out of them. Somehow they still blossom and put forth leaves, even if they do not bear much fruit that the present generation cares to eat. They reflect now, as they did ages ago, the immutable needs of man in the deepest realm of his being. If they ever held sway over the human mind, it was because of the divine and eternal truths which they embodied, and not because of their verbal form or technical structure. What they once held, they hold to-day. If you peel off every vestige of the accidental and mutable in form and language, the core remains unchanged and unchangeable. Such heir looms of the past cannot be thrown aside at the beck and nod of any school, without a folly amounting almost to a crime both of the heart and the head.

An apology is found for loose and vague handling of Christian dogmas, in the fact that we are practically without any tribunal, any recognized authority for deciding doubtful or disputed cases. Certainly this is a fact which raises difficulties worthy of grave consideration. These difficulties can be met only by a wider treatment than can well be given them in this article. But in the first place it should be observed that the number of cases needing formal settlement is not so great as some suppose; and secondly, it should be remembered that those which do await an authoritative decision, do not affect seriously, and, certainly, do not fall within the limits of the essential verities of the faith. It may be true that Œcumenical councils cannot be convened. It may be true that neither separate branches of the Church, whether of national or even larger dimensions, nor this or that school of religious thought, nor all schools as such combined into one, nor, far less, individual judgment can be trusted to re-formulate anything that is *de fide* in the Christian teaching, or that is very closely related to what is *de fide*. All this may be admitted, and yet it does not follow that any serious damage would accrue to the great body of religious dogma or to the Church herself. Much

is made of the Church's crippled and unfortunate condition arising from her divisions. Her inability to exercise her authority as the final judge in all controversies springing up within her borders, is pleaded not only to justify any existing anarchy, but as a ground for questioning whether any such authority was ever given her, or, if given, whether it was ever so exercised in the past, as to be entitled to bind all after-ages by its decisions. Now it might be a satisfaction and a comfort for most believers, if the Church, in her unchallenged unity and catholicity, could speak upon many issues which perplex and distress them; but it cannot be shown that for the protection or preservation of any vital interest it is absolutely necessary that she should do so at this time. The reason is not far to seek.

Theology in its essentials is a tradition historically transmitted from age to age. As such it has come down to us from Christ and His Apostles. The Church as the one body of the faithful, and in the performance of the trust committed to her by her own Head, has been the custodian of this tradition. Relying upon the guidance of the Holy Ghost, and in conformity with the terms of her original commission, she, while yet undivided and to meet the assaults of successive heresies, gave to this tradition in all its essential particulars the creed-form which it has borne ever since. This or that part of it may have been more prominent at one time than another, because one set of human wants may have been more urgent at one time than another. The Church's trusteeship of the Faith is divisible into five distinct periods in each of which the guiding presence of the Holy Spirit was attested and certified by some special result of vital and commanding importance. In the first period we have the Apostolic Creed, the Threefold Ministry, the Sacraments, and Liturgical Worship. In these the necessary doctrines of faith and order were broadly stated, but not clearly defined. Then came the period of the undisputed General Councils when the Church definitely declared what it all along had steadfastly believed. Then came the third which did for the *words* what the second had done for the *ideas* of Christian Theology, the Nicene being expanded into the Athanasian Creed. Then came the fourth—that of the Reformation—when Christian faith and practice underwent an exhaustive revision and emerged into new power and purity under an appeal to the Scriptures as interpreted by

the earliest and best ages of Christianity. And, finally, came that which includes our own time and is signalized by attempts to re-examine the foundations of the whole structure and to adjust its several parts to the characteristic requirements of the present age. Now in each period the special work undertaken has been done with a thoroughness which leaves little to be attempted in the same direction. And with the labors and achievements of all these periods gathered up and organized into one continuous testimony, covering more than 1800 years of conflicts and of vicissitudes as various and profound as can ever occur in the coming life of mankind,—with all this in plain sight and easily accessible to any who wish to be informed, it is simply an outrage on reason and fact for any man, and far more for any ordained teacher of religion, to say that he is in doubt as to what portion of the Theology of the Church he may cast aside in accommodation to the modern spirit, and what portion he is bound to maintain as of the substance of the faith. There is really, when the whole matter is thus stated, very little even in the present divided condition of the Church, and in her consequent inability to settle at once and *ex cathedra* all controversies, to excuse any public teacher of the faith for loose dealing with her fundamental dogmas.

4. But, as a fourth and last reason for their attitude, these liberalists and latitudinarians tell us that the pulpit has difficulty enough in inducing men to hear its message, without adding to it by insisting on a line of teaching which will certainly repel them. They will listen to much they ought to hear; but shall we jeopardize even that by forcing upon them what they are sure to reject? Shall we imperil the moral by insisting on the dogmatic teaching of religion? Shall we lose the power of Christ's example and character by overlaying it with the repugnant terms of the Nicene symbol? Shall we refuse to bring souls together in worship who agree in their wants and aspirations, but disagree as to the definition of doctrine? \*

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\* A recent writer, in discussing the relation of the individual conscience to traditional forms of worship, involving, as he thinks, doubtful or erroneous religious beliefs, puts the matter thus: "Historical traditions are by the necessary growth of thought left behind by the thinker, and since forms of worship grow out of such traditions and are shaped by them, can those who have ceased to find in them the adequate expression of their faith, still find in the forms which have

Now it would seem to be a sufficient answer to these questions to ask whether it is our duty to preach the Gospel as Apostles and Prophets preached it, or to preach only those parts of it which it may be agreeable to this generation to hear? to declare the whole counsel of God, or only such a share of it as will excite no controversy, give us no trouble, take nothing from our popularity? S. Paul said he would be all things to all men, if he might save some, but he never gave such a meaning to this precept as would excuse or hide a treasonable tampering with the truth. "Christ and Him crucified" was an offence both to the Jew and the Greek, excited their scorn, aroused their indignation, stirred their hate. But what trace is there of yielding or compromise in the Apostle's preaching on this account? On the contrary, the more bitter the opposition the more he prayed and asked others to pray "that his mouth might be opened to speak boldly the mystery of the Gospel for which he was an ambassador in bonds."\*

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arisen out of them an expression of their religious needs. The stereotyped liturgy, and the free prayer, almost as stereotyped, abound in expressions which assert or imply views of things Divine and beliefs in things unseen which, as the writer claims, "live no longer in the faith of reason." Acts and sentiments would appear to be ascribed to God which are survivals from a ruder stage of theological opinion. Statements occur at variance with the results both of historical criticism and of positive science. Effete systems of theology color the language of the hymns which we sing, suggesting false views of God's justice and mercy." It is stated in substance that there are but two solutions of the difficulty—the one is to stand wholly aloof from every act of public worship, and to pray to the God who seeth in secret—the other is to accept the cultus and hold the creed in abeyance, *i. e.*, to eliminate from worship all save the sentiment which it embodies. Finally, we have the declaration broad enough to meet the cases of all troubled, dissentient consciences grown weary of beliefs and creeds of every name. "If there be a core of truth satisfying the intellect, and if along with this there be that in the traditional forms which responds to the aspirations of the conscience and of the heart, it may well be doubted whether honesty or consistency require the devout thinker to cut himself adrift from Common Prayer."

I have quoted the foregoing because it is the language of a clergyman of the Church of England, and as such furnishes a notable example of the broad treatment of matters of faith, worship and order now so highly esteemed by those who can find no place for dogma in their scheme of thought.<sup>1</sup>

\* Eph. vi. 19.

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<sup>1</sup> "Church Thought and Church Work," edited by the Rev. Charles Anderson.

Thus far the writer has treated the subject with a view to meeting the objections and arguments of the class whom he wishes especially to reach in these thoughts. He will now turn to the more direct and positive treatment of his theme, and will begin with an inquiry into the relations of Christian dogmas to the Christian life: 1. as discovered on general grounds, and 2. as exhibited in certain specially representative particulars.

All knowledge is valuable as it originates and affects action. The aggregate of human action is largely determined by the aggregate of human knowledge. As it is the function of knowledge to inform the will, so it wields through the will a motive power. In giving light it creates force. Causation as applied to our conduct is an attribute of knowledge, because knowledge reveals to the will the proper conditions of its volitions. In guiding the will, knowledge guides the issues of the will, and so through the will erects a moral, as well as an intellectual, empire. There is, indeed, a vast deal of knowledge dormant in the human mind and having no assignable influence upon life. Very much of the knowledge that ought to be practical is treated as purely abstract and theoretical. In no sphere of life do we square our conduct exactly by our knowledge. What we do falls below what we know. And yet generally it is certain that what we know is the cause of what we do. Life is the product of intelligence not less than of feeling or of volition.

Now what is true of all knowledge is true of each kind of knowledge. If, therefore, Christian doctrine be viewed merely as a form of knowledge derived from a source not above nature, it would partake of the common relation of all knowledge to life just in proportion as it proposes for its immediate end the direction of the active powers of the soul. But this relation to life becomes vastly closer and more effective when it is seen that Christian knowledge is supernatural in its origin and in the mode of its influence, that it belongs to an order of grace revealed solely to cleanse and renew the very fountains of human action, and that by the terms of Divine Revelation no part of it, however small, viewed merely as knowledge is separate from a living and practical use. But to penetrate yet deeper into the vital bond which connects doctrine with life, knowledge with duty, formal truth, the truth of creeds and confessions, with the most serious concerns of the soul, let us duly consider the fact that the Holy Scriptures

themselves declare the word of knowledge they utter respecting the nature of God and His purposes in the redemption of man, the unseen world and its most shadowed mysteries, as bound up with that living and incorruptible seed of which we are born again, Christ Himself, speaking to His disciples, and as if to rescue what He had said from the possibility of sinking through our imperfect conception or neglectful use of it into the category of mere lip-truths—truths hanging upon the skirts, not entering into the marrow of life, said, "The words I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life."\* Again, He tells us that we "are sanctified by the truth."† And with the same meaning S. James declares, speaking of the divine life in man, that "God of His own will begat us with the word of truth."‡ So true is this language of Christ and His Apostles, so thoroughly does it enter into the genius of our religion that, as the Christian life cannot be consciously begun without the Christian doctrine, so the Christian doctrine cannot be grasped without the life of which it is the source and the guide. The doing of God's will is the only key to His doctrine.§ As through the intelligence this doctrine passes down into the heart, so back through the crucible of the will and the affections it must go, if it is to be securely seated in the heights of intelligence.

It was the weakness of the old Pagan religions that they were without positive and definite doctrines. Their priests were charged with no special duty as teachers for the reason that they had so little to teach. Their work was done in caring for the outward ceremonial of worship. As they had no positive word for the intellect, so they had no positive power over the conscience. As this was the vice of the old mythologic faiths, so it is now of the religions of the heathen world. Now it is the characteristic superiority of Christianity that its foundations are laid in a sure and definite knowledge of the objects with which it deals. It starts with clear statements of the origin of the world, of the creation, the fall, and the destiny of man. It sets forth fully and comprehensively the being, the attributes, the government of God, and describes with a care and minuteness, which leave nothing to be desired every instrument and purpose of the scheme of grace. With

\* S. John vi. 63.  
† S. John xvii. 19.

‡ S. James i. 18.  
§ S. John vii. 17.

onward, undeviating step it follows from the world's morning through law and ceremony, through type and promise, prophecy and history the image of the coming Christ. Nor do its doctrines cease to be practical as they become mysterious. Passing out of the domain of finite intelligence into that of faith, they challenge from the soul a yet heartier trust. Like buried fountains, we know their purity and abundance by the crystal floods rolling from them.

Again, it was the peculiar distinction of Christianity that it did not undertake to lift mankind to a higher plane of duty until it had lifted them to a higher plane of knowledge. Christ announced Himself as the light of the world before he announced Himself as the life of the world. He gave no new command, imposed no new obligation, enforced no new law for which he did not provide an antecedent basis of knowledge. Christ the teacher preceded Christ the lawgiver. The strictly evangelical duties of the Christian life came after, not before, the proclamation of His Kingdom, and consequently after the proclamation of a new dispensation which, while demanding more of us, gave us larger, clearer views of our liabilities, our needs, and our destinies, and with these nobler gifts and powers to enable us to meet the higher demand. Even the Forerunner of Christ, in calling men to repentance, called them to the knowledge of a new empire of God. Out of the events of Christianity, as historic facts, grew the doctrines of Christianity, and out of the doctrines grew the virtues and graces of the divine life. The Gospel first made for itself a body in history, then a body in the sphere of communicable truth, and then issued in the redeeming, purifying energies of a living force. First, a reality in history, then a reality in knowledge, then a reality in life—so Christianity ripened into the power of salvation unto all them that believe. On these grounds then—grounds plainly indicated by Revelation, and as plainly approved by all sound Christian philosophy,—we maintain, the Holy Church throughout the world, maintains the necessary, the universal, the vital connection between the Christian doctrine and the Christian life.

But to exhibit this connection in a yet more palpable and impressive light, let us turn to some particulars illustrative of this general truth. The more closely the Scriptures are examined, the more clearly will it be seen that no doctrine is introduced without a practical object. Not

one can be named that does not either reveal a specific duty or set of duties; or supply a motive for the discharge of duties otherwise revealed. The most hidden of doctrines—those relating to the mode of the Divine subsistence, the internal connection of the persons of the Godhead, the decrees of the Almighty, the liberty of man, the union of Christ with His Church, the administration of the Church by the Holy Ghost, the conditions and events and transactions of the world invisible and eternal—these, the most profound and mysterious of all, lie nearest to the pulse of human action and have most to do with the governing motives of our life. In evidence of this, turn to the Epistles to the Romans and to the Ephesians in which S. Paul draws the most stringent and impressive rules and precepts of Christian living out of, and according to the judgment of human reason, the least obvious of Christian truths. Out of God's foreknowledge and predestination he develops the riches of God's grace in the work of redemption and the ground of our trust that "all things shall work together for good to them that love Him."\* Out of the deeply mysterious fact that through the offence of one judgment has come upon all men to condemnation, he unfolds the sublimest possible view of the grace of God in Christ and of the corresponding duty of human gratitude. When, again, he exhorts the Philippians "in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than themselves," † he proceeds upon the doctrine of Christ's condescension which implies His essential Divinity. And, then, how he pleads with the Corinthians to abstain from all vices of the flesh on the ground that their bodies had become the temples of the Holy Ghost, ‡ so also in places too numerous to be cited does S. John turn from the truth that God loved us and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins, to the love we owe one to another, and the kindred duties of forgiveness and charity. Thus in various form and manner, but equally illustrative of the truth with which I am dealing, the Deity, Incarnation and Atonement of Christ are urged not only as the basis of our hopes, but as the strongest motives to the duties we owe our neighbor, while the doctrine of the Trinity—that mystery farthest removed from our intelligence—touches at every point our

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\* Romans viii. 28.

† Philippians ii. 3.

‡ I Cor. iii. 17.



spiritual life. For it is the root and ground of that covenant relation, which, begun in Baptism, underlies and permeates the entire religious training of man. As in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we are taken out of the world and grafted into the Body of Christ, so in virtue of that Triune Name and the gifts proceeding from It, we, as branches, are fed and nourished from the living Vine, Christ Jesus, unto eternal life. Not less overshadowing and profound is the influence of this mystery upon the office and work of the Sacred Ministry. As in that blessed Name the priesthood is to go forth teaching and baptizing all nations, so that Name, as a doctrine of the faith, is the source of all sanctity and power in priestly labor.

Having discussed the theme in its bearing upon practical Christianity, let me now ask attention to some thoughts as to its bearing upon the Church. Without positive dogmas, without a creed amplified, if need be, into a Theology, the Church must fail in many essential parts of its Commission. It was ordered by its eternal Head to do certain things necessary to the salvation of man. God never gave an order without providing for its execution. He never created an institution, or appointed an ordinance which He did not endow with the gifts and faculties needful to accomplish their ends. The law of adaptation of means to ends is discoverable not more evidently in the realm of nature, than in that of grace. Now, manifestly, there are certain results which the Church was set up in this world to achieve. Quite as manifestly it cannot achieve these results except it can do certain things, work by certain processes. It is indisputable that, among other things, it was intended and formally commissioned to be and to do these following ones:—

1. To be a teaching body.
2. To be an aggressive, diffusive, missionary body.
3. To be the custodian through all time of a certain divine type of spiritual life.
4. To preserve and transmit all the distinctive features of Christian as in part contrasted with, and in part supplementary to the morality of the natural conscience.
5. To maintain and perpetuate its own corporate being so that the gates of Hell shall never prevail against it.
6. To so administer its trusts and offices, to so execute the terms and purposes of its Divine Charter as to command in every age the sympathy and support of the best culture and the ripest intelligence of mankind.

Now I affirm that the Church can be and do none of these things if stript of what is called a dogmatic Gospel—a formulated message—an accepted symbol of faith. For, first, it cannot teach without it has something to teach, something that has *form* as well as substance. It may be asked can it not teach the Written Word of God? Is it not forbidden to teach any thing not contained in that Word, or that may not be proved thereby? Are not its purity and fidelity to be gauged by the strictness with which it adheres to that Word? Has it any other charter than it finds in that Word? These and many similar questions may be put, and some will think the mere asking of them sufficient to decide the matter. But this is not the whole of the case, not the whole of the truth. We may not stop to reason out the conclusion from the peculiar structure of the Holy Scriptures. Every principle, every truth we require to know for the soul's health is there; but they must be gathered ordinarily from many particulars. They are seldom rounded out in any one statement. They are intimated by historic events, more plainly exhibited in the scenes and transactions of individual lives, uttered with sharp emphasis in rewards and penalties, voiced, it may be, in thunder and flashing in the lightning, then toned down and modulated into accents of love and mercy, running through prophecy in veins whose gold is mingled with the dross, spread out in the dark speech of metaphor and parable, concentrated into the burning logic of a S. Paul or diffused through the loving words and rapt visions of a S. John. The very variety of dress and outward circumstances presents the truths of Scripture in so many aspects and at so many angles that, when individual minds deal with them, they always leave some parts in the shadow and fall short of a harmonious and complete interpretation. To secure such a rendering, the collective and continuous mind of the Church must intervene. The Word of God to reach us in the fulness of its power, free alike from defect and excess, must reach us through a medium as large, as pure, as divine as itself—even the very Body of Christ. As the keeper and witness of Holy Writ is under the promised guidance of the Spirit of all truth, it alone can safely, wisely, perfectly gather up the scattered elements, weld together the sundered particles, formulate and compact into balanced unity the divers voices and, so in the performance of its sublime office as "the pillar and ground of

the truth," teach all men "the truth as it is in Jesus." But what it does generally for moral and preceptive truth, for the sentiments and aspirations of inspired prophets, it can and must do for the divergent and widely diffused elements of truth which, when co-ordinated and reduced into a unity that, intellectually and ethically considered, is scarcely less than organic, constitute the Faith once delivered and issue in "the form of sound words" so familiar to the infant Church.

It is undeniable that the truths of Revelation are under the same necessity as all other truths, the moment we begin to treat them as the subject matter of instruction. They must have their terms and definitions. Their mutual limitations must be explained. Apparent contradiction must not be allowed to displace either one of two truths which our logic is too narrow to reconcile. Truths which are to be taught must be stated. To state them is to define and formulate them. This must be done not only for didactic uses, but equally so in order to guard them against error. For if the truth have no settled boundaries, it is defenceless against heresy, and for the simple reason that heresy is impossible where truth is undefined. This work, then, is a necessary part of the Church's office as a teaching Church—necessary because of its divinely appointed relations to the Written Word of God—necessary because of its Commission to make, through the faith of the Son of God, His saving health known among all nations. If it is to teach out of God's Word, it must determine what it is to teach, how it is to teach, when it is to teach. But this it cannot do unless it give form to the knowledge it would communicate; and if it do this, it must have creeds, and if these, then dogmas.

Are we reminded of the intrusion of the human element into the result, as an inevitable consequence of this process? Granted, but remember that it is the human element doing an appointed and a necessary task, and, what is more, doing it after a Divine method, doing it through a Divine instrumentality—even the Body of Christ, doing it with the highest help and guidance possible to mortal faculties—the help and guidance of the Holy Ghost.

2. But, again, an undoctinal, creedless Church cannot be an aggressive, diffusive, Missionary Church. It will be said that, as matter of fact, the time when the Church was least dogmatic was the time of its grandest missionary

conquests. Its earliest age, it will be claimed, was its most aggressive age, because it was the age of simple feeling, intense will, sublime self-devotion. Its diffusive power lay in its freedom from the shackles of dogma forged and fastened on it in the later period of the heresies and of the Councils. The controversies of that period, as it has often been said, chilled and checked the missionary energy and with it the diffusive power of the Church. But this is only one side of the case, and has the weakness of all half-statements. Heresies arose. Heresies had to be met. The battle with them necessarily absorbed the thought and diverted the attention of the Church from much of her practical work. But the fact that the Church did fight proved that it had something to fight for, that it was conscious of carrying in its bosom and on its lips a *depositum* of truth, a tradition of the faith which, before all else, it must defend and transmit, or surrender all hope of the moral conquest of the world. Its attitude toward false teachers was always the same. It opposed them with a faith clearly enough defined to enable it to say, this is what has been steadfastly held from the beginning. When S. Paul exhorted Timothy "to hold fast the form of sound words," he referred to truths which had already taken shape and formed a body in language—a creed for common use. The great Apostle to the Gentiles was, as his Letters show, the most dogmatic of teachers; and yet he was the foremost of Missionaries. He would have been powerless on Mars-Hill, powerless in Ephesus, in Rome, in Corinth, had he been without a doctrine to deliver, or had he delivered that doctrine with a faint heart or with a stammering tongue, as though it might be only desirable, but not essential, to know it. It was part of his greatness and his strength that, with a boldness which shrank from no enemy, he insisted most upon the very dogmas that were most offensive to those whom he addressed and in themselves most mysterious. It is true that the Church was more dogmatic during and after the Nicene age; but it does not follow from this that it was ever undogmatic—ever indifferent or thoughtless toward the doctrines of the faith. Dogma profound, mysterious, sweeping over earth and through eternity, was inscribed upon the Church's original charter as at once a teaching and a missionary Body. Potentially, all dogmas that have any claim upon us were involved in the Saviour's command, "Go ye,

therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing (or discipling) them in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."\* Without a positive message to deliver, the Church, whatever its energy, devotion, enthusiasm, cannot cope with the powers of the world, far less gather to its standard hostile races or supplant false religions. The moment it begins to substitute sentiment for doctrine, or vague and shifting presentations of truth for a definite creed, it begins also to wither and weaken in its missionary power. What was true of S. Paul and of those who wrought with and under him in the Apostolic age, is true now. Whatever else he held back when he wrote to the Romans and Ephesians, the Galatians and Colossians, or when he preached to the wise men of Athens, he did not withhold the dogmatic verities of the Faith. He did not think his duty done by exhorting them to be pious toward God and loyal to Christ, to be devout and righteous, to unite in hymns and prayers, if they would unite in nothing else. Christ Jesus, indeed, was the burden of his tongue and his pen: but it was Christ Jesus explained and defined, Christ Jesus presented as the God-man, the one Mediator, the one Saviour, the one Sacrifice for the sins of the world, the one Head over all things to his Church, the one original Priest, Prophet and King, the Founder and Lawgiver of an empire, the Author of ministries and sacraments. S. Paul's Christ was a person, but to save Him from evaporating into a myth among the generations of men, the historic fact was developed and formulated in articles of belief. So the Church preaches Christ to-day, and it is only as it does so that it can go forth among the nations conquering and to conquer.

3. The Church was commissioned to act as the custodian through all time of a certain divine type of spiritual life in its own body and in its individual members. This type admits wide variations without impairing its essential unity. One age may put into it more heart, another more intelligence; one may make it more demonstrative, another more hidden. Now works may be uppermost, and now faith. At one time it may appear in the rush of the militant host, at another in the still life of contemplation. But the same controlling force, the same dominant idea and ruling purpose, the same general experience of sin and sorrow, guilt and forgiveness, love of the one Master,

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\* S. Matthew xxviii. 19.

loyalty to the one King, a fugitive earth, a coming judgment, an everlasting rest appear in all diversities and variations. This type is spread out in the Word of God, in the lives of prophets and apostles and confessors. It is repeated in every page of Christian history, and can be discerned to-day amid all differences, in the great company of the faithful throughout all the world. It has been disturbed and infringed chiefly by two tendencies within the Church: the one cropping out in a dead orthodoxy, the other in a spiritual mysticism; the one eliminating life from dogma, the other dogma from life. The latter is *our* danger, and of this it is enough that we speak. The Church can guard against this danger only as it is able to oppose the tendency out of which it grows. It has many foes against which it is bound to protect the true type of the divine life in itself and in the individual soul: but none more formidable than this. The spirit and fashion of the time are with it. The current bears it along. The unbelief of the day laughs at dogmas and creeds; and on the ground that religion is only feeling, not knowledge, not truth. Our Christian mystics and latitudinarian sentimentalists, who seem to dread nothing so much as a dogmatic faith, encourage the laugh and advocate a religion which, if fully developed, would justify it. It seems not to have dawned upon them that a religion without dogma is simply a body without bones, a bridge without abutments, without piers, without girders. It may be *a* religion, but it is not Christianity. Just as flesh can be conceived without a frame, a bridge without foundations, so can we conceive of a confession which has nothing to confess, a faith which has nothing to believe. It is astonishing how soon we forget the lessons of experience, the warnings of the past. This tendency is an old and frequent visitor in the Christian camp. It has done vast mischief and threatens to do more. From age to age this undogmatic piety has left the same unvarying witness. Two, or, at most, three generations are enough to include its start and its finish. Without exception, its disciples have fallen away into unbelief at some of its stages, or have drifted off into self-indulgent worldliness. Into one or the other the despisers of a positive faith have always declined by a law as irresistible as gravitation. The mystics of Port Royal after a season of demonstrative fervor fell off into coldness and indifference. Strauss, who could not endure the historic Christ and would have Him to be a myth, was a

grandson in the faith of Spener the pietist who could find no room for dogma in his religion. Francis Newman, who ran through the several phases of belief, ending in naked deism, began among those whose religion was so warm-hearted and elastic as to render them careless of the obligations of doctrinal standards. While, finally, to cite a case familiar to all, Quakerism, which lingers only in hopeless, helpless decay, tells us what comes of disjoining what God has bound together.

It is then, we cannot doubt, the voice of God's Word, the voice of reason, the voice of experience that the Church can hope to maintain the true life of God in the soul of the individual and in its own collective, corporate self only as it adheres to a positive faith—a religion to be believed as well as felt, to rest on a creed as well as on an enthusiasm.

4. We gather from the structure and aims of the Church that it was intended to preserve and transmit the distinctive characteristics of Christian morality. It need not be argued that such distinctive characteristics exist. They must be admitted by all who admit that Christianity is something more than a mere republication or expanded edition of the morality of Nature. Natural morality has no definite dogmatic foundation. Christian morality is Christian chiefly because it has such a foundation. What is peculiar in it arises from what is peculiar in the teaching of Christianity respecting God and man, and the relations between them. So absolutely is this true that it is impossible to separate the moral from the dogmatic teaching, or, in fact, to tell just where the one begins and the other ends. The law of God as the supreme rule of duty is an organic part of the Revelation of the nature of God. All conceptions of Christian duty, all specific rules of Christian conduct are grounded on the Christian conception of God in Christ; and they can be no more divided the one from the other than a living tree can be divided from its own roots and its own branches. Doctrine and duty, truth and action, faith and morals, what we believe and what we do as members of Christ's Body, are but different sides of the same divine message, the same divine life. They are different just as the feet and hands, the eyes and ears, the sense of taste and the sense of touch are different as parts of the same body. And they are one just as these are one when regarded as integral and organic parts of the body. But if there be this integral and organic con-

nection between the dogmas which formulate the truths of Christianity and the morals which formulate the duties of Christianity, it is too plain for argument that the Church, which is the custodian of both, cannot hope to preserve the superstructure when the foundation has been swept away, or to maintain the unity of Revelation when two things are sundered, the loss of either of which is fatal to such unity.

But, again, Christianity is not what it is because it has lifted heathen or natural morality to a higher place in this or that individual feature; or because it has added this or that virtue, this or that grace to the catalogue of moral qualities which fill out unaided nature's ideal of character; nor yet because it has placed in the front rank the group of virtues which natural morality places in the second—humility, patience, obedience,—before self-dependence, courage, decision of will and the whole family of aggressive, achieving, resisting virtues. Without question, Gospel morality has not only modified, but radically revolutionized, the generally accepted type of moral greatness in all the Christian centuries. Men are now esteemed great for qualities which, in the old pagan life, would have drawn upon them the ridicule of their fellows. It is now the meek, not the bold, the self-assured who shall inherit the earth. The road to greatness which winds through suffering is, since the Master walked among men, esteemed more highly than the road to the same goal which leads through attack, resistance, and retaliation. And yet this, though it be a fundamental distinction of Christian ethics, is not the chief one. The one distinguishing and transcendent feature of the morality of the Gospel is not reached until we see what it has done to enlarge the area of motives to right living, and to intensify the energy of these motives throughout the vastly expanded circuit within which they act. At all points along the line of conflict with the powers of evil, it supplements human effort with a superhuman force. Whatever the natural will-power of man, whatever the virtue left in the natural conscience, and it is not to be denied that there is much of both still lingering in man, even though he be a fallen and tainted being, both are caught up and breathed upon by the life-giving Word and presence of the Holy Ghost, and are endowed thereby with virtually new moral energies. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new."\*

\* 2 Corin. v. 17.



The transformation is so complete and so profound that the natural man is supplanted by the new man of grace. The will that was weak in the presence of temptation, becomes strong. The conscience that was half paralysed throbs with life, and assumes its rightful authority as the supreme director of all the appetites and passions of the lower nature. Self-interest and self-love—the favorite and habitual motives of mere nature, though not utterly displaced or ignored, find themselves overborne by certain divine verities which, inasmuch as they relate to things invisible and eternal, are apprehended by faith, and not by sight. But these verities, which are so easily and inevitably translated into the mightiest of motives and sanctions, come to us as dogmas—truths offered to us by divine authority, and clothed with the majesty of God and the grandeur of eternity. In giving us the doctrines of personal immortality, the resurrection, the judgment, the rewards of heaven and the penalties of hell, of our created dependence and moral responsibility to the righteous and almighty Judge of the quick and the dead; and interwoven with these the doctrines of the sacrifice and intercession of the God-man Christ Jesus, and of the operations of the Holy Ghost—in opening up to us all these truths, dogmatic because revealed, the Gospel not only gives us a new commandment, a new morality, a vaster sweep of obligation, but also a new and mightier power of obedience to their requirements.

But if dogma and morals be thus organically conjoined and interlaced, and if it be part of the Church's commission to hold fast both in their divine fellowship and communion, it is certain that, so far as it drifts away from the doctrines of the faith, it must drift away from the ethics of the faith. And if this be so, then it is a dream and a delusion to think of maintaining the sentiment of religion apart from its formal truth, or the practice of morality apart from the dogmas which have made it what it is and supply the only motives that can permanently enforce its observance among men.

Weak and unsound and every way defective as was the religion which the Gospel supplanted, yet in its decay and death, it left on record a warning, which, in a discussion like this, it is impossible to forget. That religion, as seen among the Greeks and Romans especially, had in its earliest and best days which were the days of its power, a dogmatic as well as a moral side. Clouded and incoherent

as were its utterances, it still had a testimony to deliver respecting the gods and men and the relations between them, respecting duty and the life to come, respecting the evil in human nature, the conflict which it produced and the necessity at some time and in some way of the moral purification of the soul. However dimly these teachings were expressed, however limited the measure of faith in them prevailing among the people, it is a well attested fact that so long as they were believed at all, so long as they escaped the sceptical logic or the half suppressed ridicule of the philosophers, they served as so many anchors by which the popular morality held fast amid the always vexed and often filthy waters of pagan life. It is an equally well attested fact that so soon as these dogmas, vague and loose as they were, began to weaken in their hold on the popular mind, the morals of the people began to decline. The decay in dogmatic belief uniformly preceded the decay in morals. When the time came at last, as it did, just before the advent of Christ, when mankind ceased to believe anything in the shape of religious truth, the whole fabric of private and public morality, tumbled into fragments, duty gave way to pleasure, justice to expediency, love of country to love of self, authority to license, order to anarchy; until finally the old classic heathen life went down in blood and darkness. No one can trace the history of that life with any proper grasp of its line of development without seeing that its virtue was in proportion to its faith, that its faith was in proportion to the solidity and definiteness of the grounds which it had to lean upon; and consequently that its moral tone depended, at every step, upon the dogmatic basis of its religion. What was true of an imperfect religion and an imperfect morality is yet more true of a perfect religion and a perfect morality. The elements of the problem are the same in both cases. The difference in the two cases lies in the fact that the more perfectly the individual elements are set forth, and the more perfectly they are combined, the more sensitive and sympathetic is the tie which binds them together and the greater will be the disaster caused by any attempt to disintegrate them.

5. The Church proves by its structure and its charter that it was designed to maintain and perpetuate its own corporate being unto the end of the world. Will it be said that we have the sufficient guarantee of the Church's perpetuity in the promise of its Founder, "Lo, I am with

you always even unto the end of the world." \* True, that cannot fail which has in it Him unto whom has been given all power in heaven and earth. Omnipotence cannot be defeated. The end it proposes must be reached. And yet, even omnipotence works by means and attains its ends by intermediate and subordinate instruments. If Christ has declared that the gates of hell shall never prevail against His Church, He founded His declaration not on a series of miraculous interventions; but on certain laws of cause and effect, certain adaptations of means to ends in the spiritual world, which, because they are of His own ordaining, He meant the Church, supernatural as it is, to obey, just as He means that every individual believer shall obey them. Obedience to law is as much a part of the Church's duty as any thing else can be; and if in waywardness and conceit, or in ambition and presumption it cuts loose from law and falls back on Christ's promise of His indwelling presence, as the one thing needful to extricate it from its wilful follies and bring it back to its rightful orbit, whenever in caprice or corruption, in heresy or schism it chooses to wander from it, it reckons without its host. He neither invited nor justified any such reliance when He uttered the promise. We know that He is in the Church by what the Church does in conformity with His will. He preserves the Church not by a succession of omnipotent fiat: but by inspiring and leading the Church to use the means necessary to preserve it, so that we are consistent in making the most of His promise as the ground of our confidence in times of trial and darkness, and, on the other hand, in insisting upon the truth, that, if the Church is to perpetuate its corporate being, it must exercise a wise and faithful stewardship over all things committed to its keeping and do whatsoever its Lord commanded it to do. Now among the things committed to it was the Faith once delivered of which Jesus Himself was the author and finisher: and among the things which it was to do was, first, the diffusion of that Faith among all nations, and, second, the conservation of that Faith unto the end of the world. It has a message to teach, a dogmatic message, and my point is that it must teach that message, or resign its hold on the future and witness the decay of its own corporate life.

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\* S. Matthew xxviii. 20.

Christ commissioned the Church to do this, and though it may do a thousand other needful and commanded duties, any prolonged, incurable neglect to do this one thing will bring an eclipse over its powers and prospects which will be only less than its defeat and ruin. It may teach the morals of the Gospel, the benevolences and charities and humanities of the Gospel; or it may pour through multitudes of hearts a rich tide of refined and exalted emotions; it may kindle enthusiasm, and build up characters of heroic and saintly mould; it may be wise and gifted as regards all learning; it may sing hymns and recite prayers and march in endless processions around the aisles and the altars of sanctuaries; it may be the good Samaritan pouring oil into the wounds and wine into the famished mouths of sin-cursed nations; it may do all these things and the doing of them may float it along the current for two, three, four generations; but looking at the great cycle of the centuries between the first and second coming of its Lord, it cannot hope to travel through that in the greatness of its strength, or in the full majesty of its corporate prerogative, unless it teach truly, purely, diligently, universally the one *depositum* of Faith which it received at the beginning. But one foundation has been laid, and the Church must stand on that: its feet will not rest on hay, straw or stubble. That foundation is the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, set forth at sundry times and in divers manners in the written Word, held by the Church and taught by the Church from the start as a formulated body of obligatory truth. The Church's teaching this and the perpetuity of the Church's corporate being are one and inseparable. So Christ hath ordained, and so let us hold.

It is a curious coincidence and full of profound meaning that, at the very time when schism has, in the popular estimate, ceased to be an evil in itself or a sin in those who commit it, the dogmatic verities of the Faith are cheapened into trifles, or relegated to the garrets in which this fast age stows away what it esteems worn out and useless in the heritage which has come down to it from by-gone centuries. So true is it always and everywhere that they who dishonor the Christian dogmas will dishonor the Christian Church, and *vice versa*.

6. Finally, we cannot but believe that the Church was intended so to administer its trusts and offices, so to execute the terms and purposes of its Divine charter as to

command in every age the sympathy and support of the best culture and the ripest intelligence of mankind. It may, in view of the temper of these times, be a bold thing to say; but, nevertheless, we affirm that this intention can be fulfilled by the Church only as it clearly and positively adheres to the distinctive dogmas of its Scriptural and historic creeds. For, in the first place, its own intellectual activity centres in the work of inculcating and defending these dogmas. On their human side they bear the impress of its intelligence; they have been shaped by its thought and cast in the mould of its learning; they are its formal answers at the bar of reason to the world's demand for some rational account of the faith that is in it. While their actual contents are incapable of variation, yet there is wide room for variation in the Church's modes of putting them; and what variation there is of this sort is occasioned by the ever changing drifts in the philosophic handling of the problems with which they deal, and by the Church's efforts to adapt its explanations and defences to these drifts. Dogmas are the salient points of contact not only with man's moral and spiritual, but also with his intellectual life. Had the Church only sentiment to cherish and to propagate, or had it only moral duties to inculcate, simply urging men to be good, and devout, and reverent, and obedient, it would need little intelligence—and less mental activity; for its task would be so simple and uniform as to demand but a small measure of either. But it has another task which, if it be no higher, no more urgent, is at least quite separate and strictly intellectual. Christian sentiments, Christian morals, Christian virtues all rest upon grounds which it is the work of Systematic Theology to set forth, and, when occasion requires, to defend, and so to justify the ways of God to Man. Theology is a science because it does this, and because, in doing it, it calls out the noblest exercise of intellectual power of which the Church is capable. Depress its rank as a study, dwarf in any way its importance, and you correspondingly undermine the conditions and destroy the stimulus of the Church's mental energy. Now, God has so ordered the constitution of the Church that it cannot be permanently strong in its strictly spiritual work unless it be strong in its intellectual work. Its will and heart and mind, and all its supernatural gifts, what it says and does, are bound up together in one current of power; and if one part languish, the whole will

languish. Intellectual stagnation will sooner or later issue in moral death; and such stagnation is inevitable if Theology be cast down from its throne of empire over all other departments of knowledge. Dogmas may be scouted by unbelief, they may be treated with contumely by the advanced thinking of the day, they may be treated with indifference by their own chosen teachers; but after all they are the intellectual bonds which connect the Church with all the highest thinking and the best culture of humanity.

It may be said that this connection is just now only apparent, not real, and that, at best, it has little more than a traditional or conventional respectability; that it has outlived its usefulness as well as its power; and that whatever influence it may retain is exercised to fetter the free action of the intellect and to cramp the growing limbs of living culture. And what else, we are asked, can be expected from Theology? Is it not founded on authority? And does not authority imply the existence of a field of truth from which human reason is warned off as an intruder? Is it not the genius and aim of dogma to fence in the mind with arbitrary limitations and to guard its mysteries against all profane meddling, standing for this purpose with swords of flame at the gateway of Divine knowledge? And if it do this, how can it claim the sympathy and support of a free and cultured intelligence? It is putting up the bars when the mind of man is panting for more room. It is busy in driving back and hedging in speculation and inquiry just when the intellect is at a white heat of passionate curiosity to look behind the veil. A friend of knowledge and seeking the offices of friendship from the great republic of letters, and yet maintaining the attitude of a thousand years ago! What presumption! What impertinence! Every wind that blows bears upon it voices tuned to this key. And yet what are the facts? Christian dogmas, as has been truly said, "*do not fix a limit to the operations of reason; they simply assert the existence of such a limit already fixed in the constitution of Nature.*" It is either a fact that there is such a limit, or it is not. If it be a fact, certainly the science which declares it should be praised, not blamed, for pointing it out and insisting upon its being duly respected by all wayfarers and especially by all trespassers and adventurers. God himself in creating things as we find them, not dogma which simply describes them, is responsible for what modern reason so bitterly complains of.

Then another fact is worth remembering when Christian dogma is charged with the intellectual crime of cramping freedom of thought and obstructing the progress of human knowledge; and that is the testimony of history. I shall let this testimony speak briefly in the language of another,—“Where will be found a succession of nobler intellects, of profounder thinkers, of more learned scholars, of more elevated moralists, of more subtle philosophers, or more successful toilers after truth, than within the pale of the Church of Christ? Freedom of thought, largeness of affection, nobility of character, and political freedom have all been nursed beneath the shadow of dogma. The sole exceptions to this fact are to be found in the corrupt periods of the Church, when she had departed from the teaching of the inspired Scripture, and substituted dogmas of man's making for dogmas of God's revealing. The instinct of self-preservation required that a corrupt Church should not allow men to think, lest thinking they should cease to be misled. The persecuting spirit displayed towards Galileo in one department of enquiry, and towards Erasmus in another, was only the effect of the policy of suppression necessitated by the unfaithfulness of the Church herself. But so long as the Church has been faithful to her trust and has taught no dogmas but what are contained in, or may be proved by, Holy Writ, she has ever proved herself the nursing mother of free enquiry, religious liberty and an advancing civilization.”\*

Again, as the human intellect must have a philosophy respecting all the deepest questions which concern us, so must the Church have a methodized, definite testimony concerning them. The origin and the nature of evil, sin and its punishment, human nature as it once was, as it is, and as it ought to be, the relations of matter and spirit, of the finite and the infinite, of the universe and individual man, of the many and the one—these are all themes on which God has spoken, on which the Church as God's mouthpiece must speak, and on which human reason insists, as it always has insisted, upon being heard. They must, therefore, be handled intellectually as well as morally; *i.e.*, they must be built up into a Christian Theology dogmatic in its premises, because resting upon Revelation, but rational in its method of exposition, logical in its deductions, because intended to satisfy reason

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\* Garbett's Bampton Lectures, p. 31.

so far as a purely intellectual satisfaction is possible on such subjects. Consequently, whether inclined to do it or not, the Church must present, as she has always done in the past, an intellectual front to these—the profoundest and the most urgent of all questions. Human philosophy has never solved them. Christian Theology has, and, in doing so, has easily and triumphantly maintained its supremacy over all systems of thought which have figured in the same field of inquiry; and, while leading them up to its own vantage ground, has excited their sympathy and homage, however reluctant they may have been to confess it. What Theology, viewed simply as a Divine philosophy, has done, it must continue to do, or forfeit its hold on the higher intellectual life of our day. I have said that Theology has solved what mere philosophy has utterly failed to solve. It may be said that reason can accept no solution of these problems which has not been worked out by itself; and that, in fact, a dogmatic treatment of them is simply no treatment at all. To settle them by authority, *i.e.*, the authority of Revelation speaking through the Church which, as a spiritual body, must begin and end in faith, is, it may be claimed, simply to declare that they are not properly the subjects of thought at all. However this may be, the fact remains that the only answers ever given to these questions which have not ended in denying one or the other of their fundamental terms have been those of the Church's Creed. Pantheism leaves no room or ground for the reality of the finite. Idealism evaporates matter into mind or spirit. Materialism denies the existence of the Infinite as an object of knowledge and also the possibility of any immediate knowledge of the mind itself. Thus each in turn sweeps away some essential fact of human consciousness, and ignores some vital part of the problem to be solved. The Church's Creed, on the other hand, respects, provides for, reconciles all the facts of consciousness and all the necessary parts of what needs to be answered. As a late writer has profoundly observed, "Her doctrine of the Trinity in Unity resolves the old antinomy of the Many and the One—shows how, in a region beyond human thought, the One is hypostatized as Many, and how the Many are truly One. In her doctrine of the Incarnation, the other great antinomy of matter and spirit finds its ultimate resolution. To all other systems of thought these fundamental antitheses of thought must always be



irreconcilable. No merely philosophical thought can reconcile a belief in the Infinite with the reality of finite existence. In the Person of her Incarnate Lord the Church sees both embodied. She alone is strong enough to be comprehensive where philosophy must be one-sided. She alone can afford to acknowledge that no intellectual system can be complete, which does not at a certain point go beyond the limits of logic to pass within those of mystery."

The intrinsic power and dignity of Christian dogma, as well as its practical grasp of the human mind lie in the fact that it speaks definitely and positively, and with due regard for all the elements involved, on questions which reason can discuss, but can never settle. These questions have an intellectual as well as a moral and spiritual side. On the former side dogma must conform its explanations and apologies to the shifting requirements of each generation; on the latter it need not, cannot change. Thus it is possible for Christian dogma to be ever the same in its continuous witness and yet to be ever intellectually fresh—ever abreast of the crises arising either from the mere fluctuations or from the actual progress of human thought.\*

Constituted as she is, the Church cannot, if she would, in order to conciliate the religious and intellectual liberalism of the day, abdicate her office as the keeper and witness of dogmatic truth. No fervor of pious sentiment, no amount of beneficent activity, whether in missions or in works of mercy, no enrichment of worship or pomp of

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\* Since the time of Lord Bacon, who announced a new gospel of knowledge both as to the method of its discovery and as to its proper results, showing mankind, as never before, that knowledge is power, comfort, utility, progress, we all know how the main drift of intellectual activity has set steadily toward the material world; so much so indeed, as, at last, to raise grave and wide spread doubts in many minds as to whether or no there be any spiritual world. The history of the human mind is a history not only of actions, but of reactions as well. The most careful and sagacious observers of the signs of the times do not hesitate to assure us, that the hour that will herald a begun reaction in this movement towards materialism is now at hand. When it does set in, the same tide of restless, almost passionate inquiry that has been so long sweeping out toward the world of sense, will concentrate itself on the world invisible; and sad, indeed, will it be for the Church if she do not find herself fully armed for such a crisis, both by her firm grasp of the dogmatic verities of Revelation and by the disciplined intellectual vigor needed for their rational treatment and luminous exposition.

ceremonial, can compensate for lack of vigilance, boldness, and fidelity in the discharge of this office. She may be elastic and comprehensive as regards divergent schools of opinion, but she must declare and maintain "the Catholic faith"—definitely as toward the eclectic and syncretistic drift of the time—positively as toward all the seductive overtures of religious latitudinarianism, and firmly as toward all the confident assaults of speculative negations. The tones in which she speaks must grow more clear and precise just in proportion as the average thinking on the concerns of the soul and the contents of Revelation grows careless and vague. Let no timidity, occasioned by the conflicts of the hour, tempt her to forego the prestige of her authority as the supreme guide of humanity, as well in the "wisdom" that solves the problem of being as in the "righteousness" that offers to the conscience the moral force that is to regenerate the world, and the "sanctification" that unfolds and satisfies every spiritual aspiration of man. Her Founder and Head is made unto her, and through her unto men all *these* because He is very God and very man. That He is both in one person is the central, all controlling dogma committed to her keeping. If she assert this as she ought, she will assert all that it includes. Having given form to that, she cannot stop until she gives form to every lesser verity bound up in it. For as it is the first, so it is the last of Christian dogmas. It is the first because all others spring from it; it is the last because there is none that has life or meaning apart from it.

If, then, the argument, only an outline of which has been attempted, be sound as a whole, however it may have failed in this or that particular; if such be the relations and uses of Christian Dogma, what else can be said than that he who trifles with, or emasculates the Church's creed, assails the vital functions of the Church itself, cripples its power to teach and convert the nations, weakens its hold, slackens its vigilance as the ordained conservator of a balanced and sound spiritual life? Is it not true that he who undermines the Faith undermines the Morality of the Gospel? Does he not attack the Hope who attacks the Doctrine of Salvation? Are not they, in every age, to be accounted vicious intermeddlers with the ordinance of God who magnify practice at the expense of belief, unity of spirit at the cost of unity of Faith and Order? Do not they rejoice over their own death, weave

their own shroud who are forward to assist at every attempted burial of an article of dogmatic faith, and esteem it a pleasure to sprinkle the coffin with the dust of oblivion? This is no time for any deputy of Christ to tamper with the sacred deposit of formal truth, or to listen to overtures of compromise, come from what quarter they may. Charity has no cloak wide enough to hide such weakness, or cowardice, or treachery. Far, far from us be the fault and the peril of that teaching which, sometimes in the pulpit, and sometimes out of it, encourages the notion that our Formularies, and Creeds, and Liturgy, and our time honored methods of instruction and worship are but the dead leaves shaken from the tree of a living Religion.

It is our joy to belong to a branch of the Holy Catholic Church which, whatever other fault may be laid to its charge, cannot be accused of a faithless guardianship over the Records, or the Institutions, or the Doctrines of Christianity. In theory, at least, it ministers to its children and to the multitudes who are ready to perish the Divine gift as it came into its hands. Upon it is laid the duty to guard and transmit this heritage,—Catholic as intended for all men and for all times, Apostolic as authenticated by the Church in its first and purest ages, holy as clinging to Christ, the living Head and to his Message of Salvation.

As the Church militant has now, so, we may well believe, the Church triumphant will have a creed though it be only that of the four living creatures,\* or that of the four and twenty elders † or that of “a great voice of much people in heaven.” ‡ As our life here acknowledges manifold and necessary connections with definite spiritual truth, so will it be hereafter. For the shadows and strifes of this mortal state being over, there will remain for those who enter heaven a doctrine of God, a doctrine of the Redeeming Christ, a doctrine of eternal Grace, a doctrine of holy citizenship in the Commonwealth of the skies.

A. N. LITTLEJOHN.

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\* Revelation iv. 8.

† Rev. iv. 11.

‡ Rev. xix. 1.

## REVISION OF THE COMMON PRAYER

SOME TIME AGO, I was invited, by the Editor of the *American Church Review*, to a "Symposium," at which he promised that several good gentlemen should sit down with him and have the best entertainment that they could desire. The invitation was cordially accepted, but some how or other the guests never got together; they have been arriving at intervals one by one; and I, as a late comer, have the misfortune to find the good things nearly all consumed. Our symposium has in fact taken the shape of an informal breakfast, at which each member of the household appears when it best suits his convenience; and, having taken his place without apology, withdraws when he must, without regard to the presence or absence of his friends. After long delay, I am able to approach the hospitable board; and though, as usual, in a great hurry, will make what effort I can to do justice to the invitation.

Obviously, the theory of a symposium is this: that each guest shall say, in friendly and cheerful wise, what is in his heart, and speak his mind on the topics proposed for general discussion, without other restraints than those which courtesy and good breeding impose. "*In vino veritas*;" the word with the Greekish look suggests that

much at least, as the probable result of banquetting in good company. Things said, on such an occasion are said, of course, "*sub rosa*;" we expect to talk plainly and honestly, without caring much for the comments or criticisms of lean and crabbed lookers on, who are straitened in their bowels, and think, when one speaks his mind, that the ends of the earth are come.

Though arriving very late, I have been so fortunate as to have heard what has been already said by some of the other guests; it might rather be considered as a misfortune, since they have left so little for others to say. But their own remarks have suggested some reflections, as is usually the case when the conversation is general; and my own words will, perchance, be little more than the expression of thoughts on what these worthy gentlemen have so gracefully and so agreeably uttered.

And, first, for a few words, *a propos* of some observations made by Judge Emott, a gentleman whom it would be impossible to regard too highly, and for whom I entertain a great admiration. He quotes a statement of my own to the effect that I would prefer to keep our Prayer Book as it is, a hundred years longer, without changing jot or tittle, rather than lose the smallest portion of the "strong meat" which it now contains, and turns the tables on me by suggesting that he also would keep it as it is, a hundred, or five hundred years, rather than have it enlarged, or altered, or enriched so as to come nearer to being what some of us would call a truly Catholic and orthodox book. There is encouragement in the reflection that we watch each other so attentively, on either side, and are so jealous of some mischief in the air. But lest my position might be considered as inconsistent, especially in one who fully approves of the movement inaugurated by the Rev. Dr. Huntington at the last General Convention, and intends to give it what aid and help he can, let me offer a few words by way of explanation of the appetite for "strong meat" for which I am faulted by my learned friend.

I am one of those who greatly desire improvements in our Book of Common Prayer, who would like to see it very much enlarged and enriched, and who have a definite idea of what might properly be done to that end. But prior to the question about actual enrichment and possible improvement, there is another so weighty as to throw the rest into the background. Why do we need a Book of Common Prayer at all? And what is the prime value of

our own? Let us first settle those points before proceeding to matters relating to embellishment and adornment.

Now, my idea of the value of a liturgy, liturgical forms, and liturgical worship, is this: that they help us to keep the faith pure and undefiled. That is the *raison d'être* of forms of prayer and sacramental offices: they enshrine the faith; they preserve it from loss; they teach, even though the minister should be in heresy or error; they secure the flock from "thieves and robbers." That is their first, their prime value. Other purposes are served, but they are less important. Forms of prayer may ensure decency, propriety, order; they may impress by their solemnity, and charm by their beauty: but what is that unless they embody the faith once delivered to the Saints? It is easy to imagine a liturgy,—such might be drawn up to-day,—so clear of dogma and doctrine as to charm the broadest and most liberal minds of the hour; a charming and beautiful piece of human composition, having a certain æsthetic, poetical, and sentimental grace about it, and yet involving the rejection and denial of the mysteries of Catholic theology. Such a liturgy, not founded on dogma, nor teaching the truth, nor correcting the vagaries and individualisms of pastor and people, would be of no more real use than a book of Religious Etiquette, or a Manual of the Art of Good Breeding in its application to Public Worship. I have heard it stated that there is, or was, near Boston, a chapel, erected by representatives of an eminent family of New England, as the shrine of their own particular religion. It seems that this distinguished house, having tried many religions and finding them equally unsatisfactory, decided to invent a religion of their own, and, having done so, built that handsome church wherein to perform its rites, and framed a suitable liturgy to serve the purposes required. I doubt not that their liturgy is in excellent English, nor that it contains much nice poetry, and many polished devotional phrases, with the opportunity of producing striking ritual effects; but, at the last, it expresses the independent thoughts of men, who would wave off, with a grand manner, whosoever should demand of them the surrender of the intellect, the submission of the will, and the devotion of the heart. Now, in asserting that I would rather keep our Prayer Book just as it is a hundred years longer, than see it altered by way of dilution, I had in my thoughts the principal use of liturgies, and the danger lest, under the

guise of embellishment and enlargement, something might be done to obscure or enfeeble, or minimize what we have in our Book of Common Prayer. Nor do I consider this as an idle fear. Such is the want of faith in some quarters that many things in that Book must have become distasteful and irksome; while there is an equally strong conceit, in other directions, which would no doubt lead its victims to suppose that they could "get up" a new Prayer Book vastly superior to the old one, because more in accordance with the spirit of the age and with modern notions on the subject of religion. I dread, above all else, the working of influences which tend towards an amendment of the Prayer Book by striking out the dogmatic, the sacerdotal, and the sacramental, introducing platitudes and modern wish-wash in their stead, and so diminishing its value as a witness to, and a teacher of, the Catholic Faith, and as a means of identifying our Church with the old historic Church of the last 1800 years.

This view of the value of forms of worship will be found, I venture to say, in every one of those writers of the Church of England and our own, who have had to fight the battle for liturgical worship against the Puritan advocates of extemporaneous prayer. They postpone, invariably, all other considerations, until they have enlarged sufficiently on this. To give instances is unnecessary; it would be but to present a catalogue of men, who like Richard Hooker, Bishop Taylor, Dean Comber, Dean Prideaux, Bishop Newton, and our own Brownell and Hobart, felt it their duty to defend the principle of ritual worship and prescribed forms of divine service against the objections of Dissent. These all have recognized the value of the formularies of the Anglican Communion as unchanging standards of faith and guides to reverent approach to the Throne of Almighty God, and have not hesitated to contrast our mode of worship in that respect, with those in use in systems under which the prayers are but "voluntary dictates proceeding from any man's extemporal wit," and in which the unfortunate people are left in "the manifold confusion" that results "where every man's private spirit and gift is the only Bishop that ordaineth him to his ministry."

And, therefore, following the footsteps of a long procession of divines, I adopt and adhere to their earnest and powerful sayings about that prime value of the Book of Common Prayer, and again insist that in nothing should

it be weakened or shorn of its strength; for a Liturgy that does not teach is like a sword that will not cut, or a gun that cannot be fired; while a Liturgy that teaches, yet does not teach the very and sincere truth of God, would do more harm than good among a restless, unsettled people, such as that which we are seeking to gather into the Fold of Christ.

I feel the more strongly on this point, because some mischief has been done already. The Book of Common Prayer appears to many of us to be capable of improvement in two ways, by way of addition, and by way of repair. Undoubtedly, it has suffered, and considerably, by the injection of matter from Calvinistic and Lutheran sources. It is a thousand pities that this happened; it would have been ten thousand wonders if it had not occurred. The History of the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI., which I tried to tell, simply and plainly, last Lent, to my people, gives the explanation of some very trying and unfortunate phenomena, of the presence of some blemishes and the lack of some beauties; while that of our own Book of Common Prayer might well draw forth expressions of the deepest gratitude to Almighty God; for I venture to assert, that if we were now engaged in compiling a liturgy, under the fire of criticisms, the pressure of jealousies, and the activity of opponents of the old learning and theology, we should hardly get, in this timorous and unsettled generation, such a volume, as, by God's mercy, we have to-day. But the process of dilution must not be allowed to proceed further. That is the special danger of our own time. Ours is not an age of faith; its characteristic is not reverence for authority or readiness to submit to it. This is an age of prejudice against the old and eager experiment in the new. He who thinks that the danger of to-day is that of believing too much, or becoming too reverential, must surely be walking in a dream; he who deems it a duty at this present hour to be warning people against superstition and excess in devotion, would, (to use an old simile,) have cried Fire! during Noah's flood.

Thus much I have said, on Judge Emott's reference to a passage in my lectures, by way of explaining why I would rather have the old Book just as it is, with its imperfections, whatever they may be, than see anything done to it which might, in any way, directly or indirectly, lessen its value as a standard of faith, or give aid and comfort to



persons, if such there be, who would like to see it revised after the fashion of the Reformed Episcopalians, or their predecessor, the Rev. George E. Thrall, the author of the "Union Service Book," which died a natural death at an early stage of its existence.

I must be permitted to go on and express my surprise and regret at hearing it said that a Liturgy is not a deposit of doctrine once delivered, and to be forever preserved intact, "and that our Liturgy in particular is not constructed to express a system of doctrine, but for worshipers, who may hold various systems of doctrines, unitedly to use." I must ask leave respectfully to dissent from this view. Our Liturgy is nothing, if not doctrinal and dogmatic. There is not, to-day, in the English language, a living book so utterly and intensely dogmatic; and if any one were to attempt to compile a work which should "constitute a deposit of doctrine," and "express a system of doctrine," I see not how he could do better than to take as his model our Book of Common Prayer. It is the best teacher of Christian dogma and morals to be found among the English speaking races, and far more efficient in that function than many of the clergy who use it. By way of justification of this view, let us consider how much it enshrines, and practically realizes to us in a devotional form, of that body of truth which has been held, and still is held, in common throughout the Catholic Church, and from which large numbers are in revolt to-day. Referring to this our invaluable Directorium of Credenda and Agenda, we find the following:

a. The dogma of the One God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; and that whatsoever is believed of the glory of the Father, the same is to be believed of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality.

b. The dogma of the Eternal Sonship of the Second Person in the Holy Trinity; the *Homöousios*; the Incarnation of that Person; His birth of the substance of a pure Virgin; the union of two whole and perfect natures in His One Person never to be divided, *saecula saeculorum*.

c. The dogma of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; His Eternal Personality, distinct from those of the First and Second; and His Presence with us men as Paraclete.

d. The doctrine of the Atonement, viz., that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death on the cross for our redemption, and that he made, on the cross, a full,

perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.

*e.* The doctrine that there is an Intermediate State, called Hades, and the Place of Departed Spirits; that our Lord was in it between His death and resurrection, and that He preached there to souls in prison.

*f.* The doctrine of the true and literal resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, not in a figure, nor by way of a moral or spiritual resurrection, but in His Very and Real Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature.

*g.* The doctrine of the true Ascension of Christ into heaven, in our proper and full nature, as Man, and His session there at the Right Hand of God, High Priest forever after the order of Melchisedech, making intercession for us.

*h.* The doctrine of "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," a visible Kingdom, into which men are admitted by baptism, and from which they may be cut off by excommunication.

*i.* The doctrine of Apostolic Succession, viz., that from the Apostles' time there have been three orders of ministers in Christ's Church; that these three orders were ever more held in reverent estimation, and that no man may execute any function of that ministry among us unless he hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.

*j.* The doctrine that there is a Priesthood in the Church, that is to say, an Order of men set apart to be Messengers, Watchmen, and Stewards of the Lord, having specific powers which none but God can give, and which he gives only by the hands of the Bishops, Successors of the Apostles.

*k.* The doctrine that God the Holy Ghost condescends to be given by men to men in the laying on of hands, and that He is received for blessing, confirming, and setting apart to sacerdotal and episcopal functions.

*l.* The doctrine of spiritual regeneration in Holy Baptism, as a means whereby we receive the same and a pledge to assure us thereof.

*m.* The doctrine that the Holy Communion is a solemn action before Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, wherein also there is a true Oblation, and wherein the Holy Ghost is invoked upon creatures of bread and wine to bless and sanctify the said elements of this world; that partakers

of the elements so blessed do eat and drink the most blessed Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and that the results of such reception are both spiritual and physical, our sinful bodies being cleansed by the Body, and our souls washed through the Blood.

*n.* The doctrine that the priests of the Church have power and commandment to declare and pronounce to the penitent the absolution and remission of his sins, and that they receive the Holy Ghost to the end that whose sins they forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins they retain shall be retained.

*o.* The doctrine of the Inspiration of the Holy Bible; that all the books thereof have been written for our learning, and contain all things necessary to salvation, and that the Church has final authority in controversies about their meaning.

*p.* The doctrine that Man is free, through God's grace, to render God a true and laudable service, which service shall be recompensed by an eternal reward.

*q.* The doctrine of the profitableness of fasting, abstinence, almsgiving, and other good works to the help of the soul.

*r.* The doctrine of a Special Providence which ordereth all things in heaven and earth, involving the duty and privilege of praying to God for every thing needed by the individual, the race, the nation, or the region; as, *e.g.*, for rain, for fair weather, for the crops, for deliverance from famine, pestilence, etc.

*s.* The doctrine of the Spiritual World; of a Personal Spirit of Evil, who, with his kindred devils, tempts and harms men; and of a hierarchy of Angels wonderfully constituted in divers ranks and orders, who not only do God service in heaven but also succor and defend men on earth.

*t.* The doctrine of the Resurrection of the Flesh, and its sequence, that after this life there is an account to be given by each of us to the Righteous Judge; that His shall be "a fearful judgment," and that they who cannot abide it shall go into everlasting damnation.

To what is thus presented as divinely revealed truth, must be added those customs which identify our Church with that of all ages past, such as, for instance, the use of a Liturgy, (and, substantially, of the very Liturgy of antiquity,) and sacramental forms; the observance of holy days and seasons which map out the entire year; the cus-

toms of commemorating the saints by special offices in the churches, of using the sign of the cross, of chanting the temple psalms as in past ages, with a great number of similar matters on which it would take too much time to dwell.

Now, after presenting this list, which, far from being exhaustive, might be much enlarged, let me ask, whether the volume which thus sets dogma, doctrine, use, custom, in such profusion before every man, woman, and child, every day, may not fairly be regarded as containing a "*system of doctrine*"? Would any account of our Book of Common Prayer be full and correct which should slur over this or treat it as accidental and unintentional? On the contrary, ought it not rather to be considered as an amazingly explicit, clear, and earnest teacher of a very positive and logically connected body of doctrine? If this Book be not a Manual of Theology, and if the Church which gives us such a volume be not an *Ecclesia Docens*, sufficient for all reasonable needs, I am greatly in error. More than once have I made this point with discontented spirits, who were for abandoning our branch of the Church on the ground that she did not teach clearly. I have pointed to the system of instruction thus presented to us, covering things in Heaven, in Earth, and under the Earth, ranging through the Eternities and the Time which divides us from them, taking in God, Angels, Devils, and Men, and covering human life in all its relations, from birth to death, from death to resurrection, from resurrection to judgment, from judgment to Heaven or to Hell: and I have asked, what more do you want? Does not this suffice you? On no one of these points is our Mother the Church slow to teach, on none does she teach with uncertain voice. Compared with what is here, how insignificant appears the little that lies outside! And thinking it over by myself, I am sometimes near repenting of ever having admitted that there are any "imperfections" in a volume which gives its readers this wealth of theological teaching and dogmatic instruction. The faults, indeed, are slight in comparison with the merits. They are, at the utmost, but little clouds or shadows which obscure for a time but do no lasting harm. We have in our Book of Common Prayer all necessary and essential truth, and, as things now stand, if a man cannot teach the Catholic Faith and serve as a Catholic Priest with a clean conscience in our own Communion, I know not where else he could go.

This is what I meant by "the strong meat" which I wish to see kept up as the diet of our people. It is strong; too strong for this age. There are men, even among ourselves, who, if one may judge by what they say and do, would prefer to substitute something in the sugar-candy and confectionery department for these honest and substantial viands; men who deny a few of the doctrines, and are skeptical on a good many more. No doubt, such persons feel let and hindered by being obliged to use the Book. It is a mirror which reflects their uneasy countenances; a steady witness against those who must use the words, but have ceased to believe what the words mean. And I deem that to be one of the most important functions of the Book; to teach one body of truth, whatever the age or the people may think; to keep on teaching that one truth, though the rationalists rage together, and the latitudinarians imagine a vain thing. It is the very quality and characteristic of the Book of Common Prayer which we could least afford to lose: and therefore are we most jealous, nay, nervously jealous, if you please, lest, in any way the witness should be made less intelligible or less emphatic.

But this will not be done, for the present at least. Every body must have heard, by this time, of the resolution adopted on the motion of the Bishop of Albany, "that no alteration should be made touching either statements or standards of doctrine in the Book of Common Prayer." That was, no doubt, a concession to a general sentiment; and for one I rejoice that such a feeling exists; for it serves High Churchmen better than any other class. Their mission seems to be to stand up for the dogmatic and institutional, the sacramental, sacerdotal, and ritual elements in religion, in the face of all who oppose themselves; and this they can do with courage, while the Book of Common Prayer remains what it is. To them it is precious as a strong work which the enemy cannot force, though it is possible that he might mine and blow it up, and its defenders with it.

But the lookers-on, at the other end of our hall, while listening to this apparently interminable talk, will be asking, "What about Liturgical Revision?"—Thus recalled to the appointed topic of discussion at our Symposium, which never came off, I will try to continue in order.

I should like to see a great many things done ; more than might be inferred from what has just been said. As to erasures they are of slight importance. There are some things which look like bad blots on our volume ; but yet even in such instances it is wonderful to note how God makes the foolishness of men to praise Him. Can aught be more foolish than that permissive rubric before the Apostles' Creed, except that other permissive rubric immediately following the reception of the baptized child or person into Christ's flock ? I used to long for the power to cancel both ; but now, I am not so sure that it would be wise to strike out either. Preposterous concessions to ignorance and prejudice, they yet have done good service ; for the former constitutes an authoritative declaration that there is "a place of departed spirits," (which, of course, is neither Heaven nor Hell) and that the Lord went down into it ; and forces that dogma on the view of every body, every time he goes to Morning or Evening Prayer, which is better than if it were merely hidden away in an unobserved "Article" towards the end of the book : while the latter gives an equally valuable statement that the Church knows no worthy scruple against the sign of the cross, which witness is true, not only there, but elsewhere. And so, after all, those two little glosses originally intended to quiet bigots and unlearned persons, have a value, in spite of their origin ; and so may it be with other blemishes and blots, which do more good than harm when rightly explained.

But as for additions, the prospect broadens greatly. What is in order, but to state frankly what each would like to have done ? It is a harmless entertainment, considering the number of our worshipful Committee, consisting of seven Right Reverend Fathers, seven Reverend Doctors of Theology, and seven honorable and learned laymen noted for their eminent abilities and high position, and considering that at least two thirds of all these must agree, ere any aspiration of any one of us can find itself realized in act. We can but talk, at present ; and modestly express our desires, speaking always under correction, and not venturing to claim more than respectful attention. And yet, there is this obstacle in the way of full speech ; the Sub-committees are in session ; they have no doubt discussed the numbers of the Table of Contents of the Book of Common Prayer allotted to each ; they are aware of each other's mind, to some extent, and may even

have agreed on certain points ; but it would be a violation of confidence to tell the public what may thus have been already done ; so that I find myself shut up in narrow bounds. In what follows, I shall carefully avoid the topics on which, as a member of one particular Sub-committee, I have already conferred with my colleagues, and confine myself to those branches of our work which are in the hands of others ; premising that I have not exchanged a word on those subjects with the gentlemen in charge of them, and have not, at this moment, the slightest idea what they think, or what they may recommend when we come together in general session.

Now, first, of the Kalendar. I should like to see many of the Black Letter Days of the English Prayer Book restored. Some of them have no more than a local interest ; as, for example, S. Chad, S. Edward, S. Richard, S. Alphege, and S. Swithin, although the last named saint might be venerated as patron of meteorological bureaus, and the "Old Probabilities" of our ancestors. But there are other names, which we ought to have in our Kalendar, such as those of S. Lucian, S. Prisca, S. Agnes, S. Perpetua, S. Agatha, S. Benedict, S. Ambrose and S. Augustine, the venerable Bede, S. Cyprian, S. Jerome, and S. Lawrence, S. Cecilia, S. Catharine, S. Clement, and S. Faith ; and it would be well to restore the commemoration of events in the Bible History, such as the Visitation of S. Mary to S. Elizabeth, the Transfiguration, and the Naming of our Blessed Lord. Nothing would seem to be more strictly within the scope of liturgical "enrichment," than to fill out our comparatively meagre Kalendar by considerable additions of this character ; while statements or standards of doctrine would not be affected in the remotest way. To enlarge and enrich our Christian Year, by thus expanding the roll of her holy days, would be like adding many precious works of art to a gallery of family portraits.

In the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, most persons would like to have leave to omit the long address to the people ; certainly on great Feasts, and when Daily Service is held. I never felt that I had the right to leave it out ; and so, in former years, when it was my duty to read Daily Service, year after year, I went deliberately through it, seven hundred and thirty times per annum, until, like Job, I was ready to cry, "My soul is weary of my life." And is there not something positively crushing,

in being compelled still to reiterate the interminable form, on such days as Christmas, or Easter, or Ascension? When the heart is overflowing with joy and exultation, and the lips are fain to burst into some enthusiastic salutation of the Lord, it overcomes one like a *douche* of ice-water, to hear the usual, the inevitable, "Dearly beloved brethren," with the "manifold sins and wickedness," and the "although," and the "chiefly so," and the "wherefore," till one loathes the very name of Bucer, by whom this was fastened on us, and asks, how long it shall be, till, on the glorious feasts of the Christian Year, we can begin with the Invocation of the Thrice Holy Name, or the "Pater Noster," or something which shall at once ring forth joyously, as the true "*vox exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis justorum.*"

It may be a question whether, instead of providing other substitutes for the "*Venite Exultemus Domino,*" similar to that now used on Easter day, it would not be better to return to the old use, of intercalating verses, by way of antiphons, suited to the great feasts. Beautiful arrangements of this kind are found in the Mattin Office of the Breviary and elsewhere. For each great feast its own intercalary antiphon might be provided, and with brilliant effect when set to music. Take, as a specimen, the following:

"O come, let us sing unto the Lord; let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation: let us come before His presence with thanksgiving, and show ourselves glad in Him with psalms.

The King, to whom all live: O come, let us worship.

For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods: in His hand are all the corners of the earth, and the strength of the hills is His also.

O come, let us worship.

The sea is His and He made it, and His hands prepared the dry land. O come, let us worship and fall down and kneel before the Lord our Maker. For He is the Lord our God, and we are the people of His pasture and the sheep of His hand.

The King, to whom all live: O come, let us worship.

To-day, if ye will hear My voice, harden not your hearts as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness: when your fathers tempted Me, proved Me, and saw My works.

O come, let us worship.

Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said: It is a people that do err in their hearts, for they have not known My ways: unto whom I swear in My wrath that they should not enter into My rest.

The King, to whom all live: O come, let us worship.



We need an enlargement of our table of proper psalms, and additions and improvements in the Selections of Psalms: "and, if any thing is to be excscinded, let it be those most extraordinary "*portions of psalms appointed to be sung or said at Morning Prayer on certain Feasts and Fasts, instead of the Venite Exultemus, when any of the foregoing selections are to follow instead of the Psalms as in the table.*" Is there anything in the Prayer Book so odd as that? In all my life I have never even heard it tried; and yet the idea was good, however clumsy the attempt to carry it out. The design appears to have been to mark certain days, viz.: Christmas, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Ascension, and Whitsunday, with special Invitations of their own, to be followed by special psalms; which was quite correct; but the clumsiness of the work is evident; first, in those terrible jumbles of scraps from different psalms, (of which another awful example is in the Office of Institution); secondly, in the use of the Bible version, which is ill suited to chanting; and, thirdly, in giving up, for that occasion the "Proper Psalms"; since these odd *centos* are only permissible when the proper psalms are thrown overboard, and a Selection is substituted, which nobody wishes to do. The idea, though, is a good one; and they who have in charge the revision and enrichment of that part of the book might make something of it. But let us have no more chopping up of Psalms, into mince-meat, nor let us commit the Bible version of the psalms to the experiments of choir masters. Imagine trying to set the twenty-third Psalm to an Anglican chant: how will you point the first verse?

"The Lord is my shepherd: I shall not want."

Another thing to be desired is the restoration of the entire Benedictus in place of the present fragment. What induced men to dock and curtail this, is as great a puzzle as to know what moved them to leave out *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*. Certainly, the liturgical revisionists of a century ago did some wonderful things; and of all that fell into their hands the Creeds and Evangelical Hymns fared worst. There is an undesigned coincidence here worth noticing: three Creeds, and three Hymns; of the Creeds, two suppressed and one mutilated in the "Proposed Book"; of the three Hymns, two suppressed and one retained only in part in the Book now in use! Restoring the Benedictus—as I trust we shall do,—it were well

to enrich the Morning Office by providing alternates, such as are found in the old Gallican liturgies, in the offices for the Day Hours. The following appear to be well adapted to such use:

- a. The Song of Isaiah, Chap. xii. *Confitebor tibi.*
- b. The Song of Hezekiah, Isaiah xxxviii. 10, *Ego dixi in dimidio.*
- c. The Song of Hannah, 1 Samuel ii. 1. *Exultavit cor meum.*
- d. The Prayer of Jonah ii. 3.

I wish that the rule of King Edward's Prayer Book could be followed, making the *Te Deum* a part of the Morning Office excepting in Lent when the *Benedicite omnia opera* should take its place; and I would have that done also during Advent. This is the use in my parish; the *Benedicite* is sung throughout Advent and Lent; the *Te Deum* comes to our ears with deeper impressiveness after those sombre and thoughtful weeks, and so fully does this approve itself to the devotional feeling and good taste of our people, that I think they would deeply regret a change in the custom. I have seen it suggested somewhere or other, that instead of the *Benedicite* we should use, during Lent, a psalm of penitence, such as, e.g., the fifty-first. The idea does not commend itself to reflection: the purposes of a change are met by the temporary silencing of the *Te Deum*, while the song of the Three Holy Children in the Fiery Furnace seems to belong of right to the Church in her time of affliction; only we ought to restore the verse containing the names of Daniel's three blessed companions, the needless omission of which has resulted in leaving the people in ignorance of the origin of that stately hymn. It is indeed a stately one, being, in fact, a most ingenious composition, in which are set forth the glory and the praise of the Triune God in a subtle and marvellous way, so that, to the intelligent reader, it is a subject of unfailling delight. There are persons, to whom this would perhaps constitute an objection to it; they like it little, considered as what they have always supposed it to be, a dry catalogue of objects in earth, sea, and sky; perhaps they would like it less, on being shown how it falls into triples, and moves in one sublime order, through kingdom after kingdom of the vast creation of God. There is no end to the queer things that have been thought and said about this hymn. I well remember the sorrows of a student in the General Theological Seminary who went to

Dr. Turner for consultation. To the good Doctor's amiable enquiry what it was that troubled him, he said that he feared there was authority for the Invocation of Saints in the verses, 'O ye Angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord! O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, bless ye the Lord!' The learned professor, having attentively regarded the youth for a while through his spectacles, said: "Mr. ———, if you will look again at the cantic which causes you so much alarm, you will find another verse, which I commend to *your* particular attention, 'O all ye *green things* upon the earth, bless ye the Lord.' Good morning, sir."

I must disagree entirely from those who object to the restoration of the Athanasian Creed. It seems to me an error to speak of it as a mere series of metaphysical statements; it appears to be no more open to the objection than the Nicene Creed, or the first five of our Articles of Religion. It is, so far as I can see, a clear, plain, logical statement of the dogma of the Holy Trinity, and no more difficult to accept than the Collects for Christmas Day and Trinity Sunday, or the Proper Prefaces of the Communion Office. Why then is it objected to? Chiefly, I suppose, if not entirely, on account of the "damnatory clauses" with which it begins and ends. Now these, certainly, imply no more than this, that a man to whom the religion of Jesus Christ has been fairly and sufficiently proposed, and who nevertheless rejects it, cannot be saved under any known terms of salvation proposed to us by God; it means but what Article XVIII. states quite as strongly, that "they are to be held accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law and the light of Nature." The clauses now referred to contain nothing but what may be shown to be the teaching of the Catholic Church; "he that believeth not shall be damned." They are, however, objectionable, not in themselves, but in that place; and it has been well suggested that they might be omitted from the Creed with advantage to its symmetry and value. The General Councils attached anathemas to the Creed, but by way of appendix, enforcement, and ratification; the anathemas were not a part of the Creed, nor to be repeated whenever it was recited. To this suggestion I cordially assent, in the hope, that with such an amendment that invaluable statement

of Christian doctrine may be added to our liturgical treasures.

The beautiful versicles immediately following the Apostles' Creed in the English Prayer Book are missed by those accustomed to that order of worship; so is the anthem after the third collect. To introduce an anthem there serves to mark the distinction between the collects proper with which the older Offices ended, and those added prayers and supplications for divers necessities, which came in by way of devotion: while it also makes a useful break in the now lengthy service, refreshing the people by a change of posture, and sending them back to their prayers with added zeal. And, while referring to the length of that portion of our service which follows the Creed, let me venture to hint very delicately that some of us have been known to grow very restless when the minister is heard adding to the general prayers and thanksgiving, the Prayer for Congress, a prayer for a sick person, a prayer for a sick child, a prayer for persons going to sea, a thanksgiving for a return from sea, a thanksgiving for recovery from illness, a prayer for persons in affliction, with, perchance, one of the Ember Week prayers. I know it is sinful and wicked to feel the least sensation of fatigue on such occasions, or to expect with anxiety the welcome sound of the General Thanksgiving, as a signal that the special petitions are concluded; but human nature is weak. I wish we could recover the simple bracket in the Prayers for all sorts and conditions of men, and in the General Thanksgiving, and that people could be content with such mention of their special needs in the Church.

And now, to come to what is a great need; that of a third service, after Morning and Evening Prayers have been said: I trust, that most of us feel that the best model is the Compline Office of the Day Hours. In the Diocese of New York, a service was in use for a long time, known as Bishop Hobart's service; good in certain particulars, as having one psalm, one lesson, and a canticle, with the Apostles' Creed; but objectionable, in others, and especially in having (*mirabile dictu*) the very same introduction, "Dearly beloved brethren" with all that follows to the psalter, and in introducing the "Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church Militant," a prayer totally out of place, and only valuable there because it gave a commemoration of the faithful departed in an

Evening Office, where such commemorations are particularly appropriate. The present Bishop of New York, to whom the Church owes so much, gave the permission, many years ago, to use a third Office in my parish, arranged as follows:

1. Our Father, etc.
2. Versicles as in the Morning and Evening Prayer.
3. A psalm from the Psalter.
4. A lesson of Holy Scripture.
5. *Magnificat*, or *Nunc Dimittis*.
6. The Creed.
7. Versicles as in Morning and Evening Prayer, followed by
  - a. the Collect for the day.
  - b. the Collect for Aid against perils.
  - c. the Collect for the fifth Sunday after Trinity.
  - d. the Grace of our Lord, etc.

This, our Trinity Parish Compline, has given tolerable satisfaction to clergy and people; but we feel that it admits of filling out and is a poor substitute for the Compline of the old time. The Sarum Compline, very slightly adapted, would be a jewel in our Offices, and would no doubt rapidly win a place in general favor.

As regards the Office for the Holy Communion, I have a great deal to say, and many wishes to express, but must refrain from entering at all upon the subject, because it is one of those referred to the section of our Committee of which I am a member. Acquainted with the views of my colleagues, and having stated my own to them, I deem it a duty to keep silence, during the progress of this "Symposium," on that branch of the subject; and for the same reason I can say nothing about the Offices for Holy Baptism and Confirmation. But let me make some suggestions entirely outside of what we have done or are likely to do. It seems to me, that, whenever it is deemed desirable to settle certain vexed questions of ritual, the thing might most simply be done by way of a few additions to the rubrics in the Office for the Holy Communion.

It may be happily taken for granted that there is no general disposition, on either side of the Church, to oppress or vex one another; at the same time many regret that there should be such very wide and startling diversities among us in the mode of conducting Divine Worship. But the only generous way of remedying the latter evil is, by recognizing differences of taste and

making ample provisions for them within prescribed limits. My own conviction is, that a maximum and minimum should be fixed by rubric ; that the maximum should give all that could be properly asked in the way of glory and beauty, in harmony with Catholic uses and traditions, while the minimum should be at least sufficient to save us from falling into the vulgarity and secularism which we see about us. Absolute ritual uniformity is a mere idle dream ; it could not be secured except by a system of thumb-screws, lash and rack, such as we shall never, please God ! see set up among us. Even in my own parish, there are as many uses as churches in it, and with my full consent and approval as Rector ; I never attempted, or even wished to make up a "Directorium," and require exact conformity to it. Thus should it be in the Church at large, even as it has been for a hundred years, and shall be, we trust, a hundred years longer. But there are certain points on which it is desirable to come to a just settlement ; and if this could be done, it may be hoped that men would be satisfied, and in gratitude for an official recognition of great principles, would no longer trouble themselves about smaller matters. Take, for example, the question of Vestments ; it lies in a nutshell.

It is deemed right and expedient, among us, that the Minister, while engaged in performing Divine Service, should wear a suitable and appropriate dress, different from his ordinary costume. For the very same reasons it may be thought, further, proper and desirable, that when celebrating the Holy Communion, which is the highest act of Christian Worship, his garb should differ somewhat from that in which he performs inferior offices. In neither of these customs does the Church find ground for the charge of superstition or finical attention to externals ; the considerations urged in the former case, apply as strongly to the latter.

Now in the Reformed Church of England, provision was made, under each head, for what was regarded as decent and becoming. The surplice was to be worn by the priest at all times of his ministration, excepting at the celebration of the Holy Communion, when he was directed to put on "a white albe, plain, with a vestment or cope," his assistants, meanwhile, wearing "albes with tunicles."

In the First Book of King Edward VI., the use of a distinctive dress at the Holy Communion was required.

In the Second Book of King Edward VI., which was a revision under the inspiration of foreign agitators, the use of such dress was prohibited, the Minister being restricted to one and the same vesture at all times of his ministration.

Under Queen Elizabeth, the use was restored, but it was not enforced, and since that time it has always been lawful and permissible in the Church of England.

At present, the case stands thus: By the Canons of 1603, the use of the surplice at least is obligatory, while by the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, the use of the Eucharistic Vestments is continued; they who wish to do so may wear them; they who prefer not to do so are permitted to omit them.

But since the days of Queen Elizabeth down to our own time, it has been the desire and aim of a certain class of men in England to have the prohibition of 1552 re-enacted. As it is well known that this could not be accomplished through Convocation, recourse was had, in 1874, to Parliament, and an Act was obtained, which regulated the Public Worship of the Church, without regard to her rights or wishes. The resort to that measure was an acknowledgment of the fact, that what its promoters desired could not be gained from the Convocations of the two Provinces, and that the Church was unwilling to give up her ancient customs in order to gratify a Puritan faction.

It seems to me that the policy of the Church of England on this subject is eminently wise, liberal, and just; and that there is no other plan by which recent controversies of a painful character can be happily terminated; and if there could be added to our rubrics two more, the one requiring that our Clergy, in their ministrations, should wear, at least, the surplice and stole, and the other permitting those who desire it to use, at Holy Communion, the plain albe and fair white linen vestment, we should have a settlement of differences which a majority deplore; occasion for heart-burning would be removed, and large numbers would at once come forward as opposers of extreme and fanciful ritualism, who now hold back, and demand the widest liberty, not because they are satisfied with things as they are, but because they know not where proscription, if once commenced, would stop.

There are some other matters connected with the Ritual of the Altar on which I feel free to speak, because there is no present prospect of their being touched in our Com-

mittee. The two Altar lights, the mixed chalice, and the use of unleavened bread, are included in the list of customs not connected with dogma; certainly they have no flavor of Romish error about them; nay, the unleavened bread and the mixed cup accord with the Lord's institution, while the use of two lights,—neither more nor less,—is a pure Anglican custom, differing entirely from the modern Roman use. These then, I should like individually, to have recognized as of the custom of "this Church," by rubric; I believe them to be lawful among us now; but I should like to have the fact expressly declared; and this I will say, at the risk of being clubbed about the head by some so-called guardian of the peace among us, who is really an inciter to strife and a promoter of contention: pray God such troublesome folk keep aloof from our pleasant symposium.

As to the Service for the Solemnization of Holy Matrimony, it would be, in my opinion, of great advantage to suggest, by rubric, the propriety of a Communion on that occasion. In view of the growth of loose notions on the subject of marriage, the increased facility for obtaining divorces, and the recent decision of the Court of Appeals, which substantially puts us at the mercy of the laxest state regulation; in view of the systematic practice of ante-natal infanticide, the want of proper control of such children as are permitted to exist, and the slow fading out of the Christian pattern of the family and the home; the question may be asked whether we, as a Church, are doing all that we might to set up barriers against the flood.

The Marriage Service in our Book of Prayer admits, more than any other Office (unless that of Confirmation), of enriching, amplifying, and lengthening. It is quite too short for dignity: the minister, reading very deliberately, can hardly make it longer than six or seven minutes; almost as soon as the bridal party have reached the chancel, they recede to the Mendelssohnian music. The English service, of which ours is a sad deterioration in nearly every particular, takes from twenty minutes to half an hour to perform; surely none too much time for a ceremony so affecting and so sacred. And then there is no mention of the purposes for which marriage was instituted, and no suggestion of its sacramental character, its historical significance, its symbolical meaning as the beautiful type of the union of Christ with His Church, or the sanctity of that domestic life to which it forms the introduction. In



all these particulars our service appears to me to need filling up. There is another difficulty in connection with this subject, which others no doubt have felt as well as I, Marriage is a civil contract; our clergy, in performing it, act in the relation of civil magistrates; they are under State regulation in certain particulars, in the exercise of that part of their office. They may be called on to join persons together who are not of their spiritual cure, nor members of the Church, and perhaps not baptized. Now, I have always felt that, unless in extreme cases, it was unfair for us to refuse our services when asked to give them. But we have only one Office; and in the State of New York, the minister of any religious body is required to use that service (if there be any) which is established by the body to which he belongs, and no other: so that we have no choice. But I have sometimes felt it a sore trial, to perform that service, when one of the parties before me was a free-thinker, or unbaptized, or a Unitarian, or when, as often happens, they were personally unknown to me, and merely sought my services as those of one authorized by the State law to unite them. The invocation of the Blessed Trinity may sometimes be shocking to hear; while to pronounce the benediction goes against the grain. "Be ye not unequally yoked together," said the apostle; and in some cases a man's conscience is not quite easy, in recalling those words. Now, what we desire is an alternate form, to be used when the minister acts rather in the part of civil magistrate than in that of spiritual pastor; a form sufficient for legal purposes, and proper to be used in cases when it might be dangerous to repel, while yet there is no claim to the solemn benediction of the Church. In this State, the clergyman is authorized by law to administer the oath to principals and witnesses, and take their deposition, if he deem it advisable: in cases of that kind, why should he not have, by ritual law, the right to elect in what terms he shall join persons together? Was not her Marriage Service intended by the Church only for the use of her children? If we are permitted and expected to join together persons who are not of her fold, and if it would be impossible to decline doing so without the chance of great inconvenience and mischief, might we not also have a form for the alien and the stranger other than that which was designed for the children of the house? I submit this view, with deference to the judgment of men versed

in ecclesiastical and secular law. I should be glad of an opinion from such eminent jurists as Judge Emott, Mr. Burgwin, Judge Sheffey, and others whose names will readily occur to the reader, or from canonists such as Prof. Seabury, of the General Theological Seminary, whose advice on kindred questions I have often had occasion to seek, and never in vain.

It seems to be generally admitted that we need a special Office to be used for the burial of children. I remember the astonishment of a distinguished foreigner present at the funeral of an infant, on finding that the service was precisely the same which he had recently heard on an occasion of the burial of an adult. Beyond this suggestion, I shall add no more than what has been elsewhere said, by way of regret at the omission of prayers for the departed, and wish for the restoration of the practice of the celebration. Queen Elizabeth's order, "*Celebratio Coenae Domini in Funeribus, si Amici et Vicini defuncti communicare velint*" (Anno 2, Eliz. Regni, 1560), certainly contains nothing superstitious or contrary to sound doctrine. It is unnecessary to answer the challenge to explain the especial significance of such a service, though I might do so, satisfactorily, by reference to those Ancient Doctors of the Catholic Church, whom we are commanded expressly to take as guides in our teaching, and by whom the eucharistic commemoration of the faithful departed and the oblation for them were matters as simple, and as much a thing of course, as the saying the Lord's Prayer: but I will only suggest, that attendance at such a celebration would most quickly remove objections to it; for of all sweet, comfortable, and touching services in which I ever took part, none seemed to me so marvellously impressive, so wondrously soothing, as those. The sting of death seemed to have been taken away, and the faith in the continued life, and the unbroken love of the dead in Christ, moved the soul with irresistible force. Nowhere else have I realized so fully the meaning of those words,

"Angels, and living saints, and dead  
But one communion make:  
All join in Christ their vital head,  
And of His life partake."

In the celebration of the Holy Communion at the burial of the dead there are already many precedents, notably in the case of the obsequies of bishops of our Church;

the practice is growing, and will no doubt ultimately be recognized in some official way: there is no need of haste in a matter which will settle itself.

To come to things not already in the Prayer Book, such as offices for divers occasions. The following will naturally suggest themselves under this head.

1. A Form of laying the corner-stone of a Church or Chapel.

2. A Form of consecration of a Church cemetery.

3. A Form of re-opening a Church after it has been closed for extensive repairs, alterations, or additions.

4. A Form of benediction of an altar.

5. A Form of benediction of a Church tower.

6. A Form of benediction of a chime of bells.

7. A Form of benediction of any considerable gift to a Church.

8. A Form of admitting members of Church Choirs, male or female, especially such as are to have their place in the Chancel near the Clergy and to wear a garb appropriate to their duty.

9. A Form of setting apart lay workers in the guilds or charitable associations of a parish.

10. A Form of admitting to membership in religious communities, whether of men or women.

11. A Form of reception of converts to our fold, from "false doctrine, heresy, or schism."

12. Additional Collects, for occasional use, and Litanies, such as may be found in most of our popular books of devotion, as, *e.g.*,

*a.* A Litany of the Passion.

*b.* A Litany of the Resurrection.

*c.* A Litany of Penitence.

*d.* A Litany of Christian Virtues.

*e.* A Litany of the Most Precious Name of Jesus.

*f.* A Litany of the Holy Spirit.

13. A Formulary of Family Worship, adapted to the Christian Year.

14. Brief Offices for the Seven Hours of Prayer. These Canonical Hours are already formally recognized among us, the proper hymns for them being given in our Hymnal, (353—359 inclusive). It were well to give us next the remainder of the Breviary Offices, from which the Hymns were taken, with such revision, and condensation, as to adapt them for use where there are the ability and the will to praise the Lord "seven times a day."

Of the value and necessity of such Offices as I have mentioned, it would seem that there could be no difference of opinion among us. In the Diocese of New York we have an old form for laying a corner-stone; it might be greatly improved. The Office set forth by the Bishop of Long Island, for use at Garden City, when he laid the corner-stone of his Cathedral, was a noble one, most impressive and effective; far superior to any that I ever heard on such an occasion. The Bishop of Albany has made another valuable contribution to our liturgical store, in an office used for the consecration of the tower of S. Peter's Church, at Albany, which was built long after the rest of the edifice had been consecrated. Of Offices for the Benediction of an Altar, we have three at least, and perhaps more; one, which I arranged at the request of the Bishop of New York, for use in Trinity Church, when the Altar and Reredos erected in memory of Mr. William B. Astor, were solemnly dedicated to Almighty God; another, which was authorized by the Bishop of Western Pennsylvania for the Reredos in the Church at Mauch Chunk, a memorial to Judge Packer; and a third, used with the consent of the Bishop of Tennessee, in S. Mary's Church in Memphis, where an Altar commemorates the martyrs who died during the pestilence in 1878. A proper form for re-opening a Church after it has undergone extensive alteration and repair, is most desirable; for something should be done by way of reparation for the temporary use of the holy place by common workmen, or by persons coming and going about their secular business, and perhaps eating, drinking, and smoking within the walls, or otherwise affronting the sanctity of the place. The service to which I have just referred as used in Trinity Church had three distinct objects in view: it served as an act of reparation and re-consecration, as an oblation of the noble gifts then made to the Church, and as a benediction of the Altar.

While suggesting the need of a Manual of Family Devotion, let me mention something which occurred not long ago under my own observation, and made a deep impression on all present. A parishioner whom God had blessed during many years, in his business relations and domestic life, having bought a new house with every prospect of occupying it for many years, asked me to come and hold a service of benediction. An office was prepared for that purpose, including psalms from the

Psalter, hymns, selections from the Scriptures, and prayers taken from ancient sources. On the appointed evening, the parlors being filled with guests, I said the service, assisted by a volunteer choir of the good man's kinsfolk and friends; and I have rarely been more forcibly struck by anything than by the beauty, simplicity, and sincerity of the entire proceeding. It was a scene never to be forgotten; it brought back the all but lost ideal of the household priesthood and the patriarchal religion; it seemed to dedicate in advance the whole life of the family, their going out and their coming in, from that day forth forevermore; and it then occurred to me that such sweet and impressive scenes would be much more frequently witnessed if the idea could be suggested to our devout people. A Manual of Family Prayer might properly begin with an Office for the dedication of the house and household to the loving service of the Lord; such an Office would constantly remind those who had used it of duties undertaken and responsibilities incurred. I do not know where a thoroughly satisfactory Manual of this class can be found. Among the latest is that which was compiled by direction of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury; but whatever its merits, there is much to be done before we shall have what we need.

A few words as to the shape in which these additions to the Book of Common Prayer should come to the hands of the people. I am reluctantly compelled to differ on this point with the Rev. Dr. Huntington, whose judgment, on so many matters, is excellent, and to whom we are indebted for first moving in the direction in which so many are following him. It is obvious that these additional forms, offices, and services could not go into the Book of Common Prayer without enormously increasing its bulk, even if it were imaginable that an order to that effect should be given. But that is not to be thought of; no doubt the Book of Common Prayer will remain, in size and general appearance, and as regards its contents, very much as it is at present, for many years, nor are we likely to live long enough to see any very extensive additions to it in the way of new material. If, therefore, it be desirable to enrich the Church with numerous Offices for various occasions, with a great store of Collects applicable to innumerable "chances and changes of this mortal life" and the thousand necessities of "all sorts and conditions

of men," and with forms of devotion adapted to the domestic life of persons immersed in the cares and toils of professions or business, and to that of persons whose privilege it is to serve God with less distraction in communities instituted for entire self-consecration to Him: I say, if we are to have these, or even a considerable part of these, then I see not how it can be accomplished, unless by publishing a separate volume or volumes, as the "Primers" were published in the early stage of the English Reformation. If the outcome of the labors of our Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer should be so small that it could be added to the Book or inserted in it, without material increase in size, I should feel that what we had accomplished was hardly worth the time, thought, and study expended. But if it be not so, and if, like scribes instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven, we are to bring forth out of the treasures of the Holy Catholic Church things new and old, in rich abundance, for the help and edification of the people, then I see that these must appear, at first, and for some time remain, in separate volumes. For nothing will be done or ought to be done in this line in a hurry. Whatever is proposed, will be proposed, as it were, for trial only, and for approval after due use; and years must elapse before we shall know what has been assimilated and what rejected, what is worth keeping by way of permanent addition to our formularies, and what does not stand the fiery test of constant use among us. For two reasons, then, I advocate the idea of the "Primer," or "Manual," or "Little Prayer Book," or whatever it may be called; first, because no extensive additions can be made to the number of our Services and Offices without making our Book of Common Prayer too bulky, and, secondly, because we propose to add nothing to the Book which has not first been tried and approved. I cannot altogether agree with those who think it a great advantage to have everything compressed into a single volume: I rather envy the Roman Catholic his Breviary, in four parts, for Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; and the Greek Catholic his great number and variety of liturgical Manuals. High authorities on these questions have taken the view, that it is a great advantage to the Anglican Communion to have its Breviary, its Missal, its Sacramentary, and its Pontifical all crowded together in one small volume; and no doubt there is some truth in this, so far as the education of the people is considered; for they

are thus kept informed on all the subjects included; and, as I said before, next to the honor done to Almighty God, the Book serves no higher purpose than that of teaching the common people what the faith is, and forcing them to keep up to it. But may not this condensation be carried too far? Has it not actually been carried too far? May we not have gained in compactness at the expense of other matters which also had their value, and whose loss we now begin to feel? There is a medium between the bewildering profusion of the Oriental Communions, and the wonderful straitness of our own branch of the Church; perhaps we should be the happier, as we certainly should be the richer, if we could strike that medium, without compromising the clearness and simplicity which mark our present Offices, or making them less intelligible to the common folk than they are now.

But it is high time to draw these remarks to a close, and to take leave of mine host, and of those, if any such remain, who are still listening politely, though, perchance, with impatience. Let me therefore end by deprecating severe criticism of what was no more than a hurried talk, and by appealing to all churchmen, of whatever school they may be, to lay aside prepossessions and prejudices in considering the subject now before us. On one point I would that we were all agreed; that the work which we have undertaken can bring with it no good and happy result, unless carried forward in a broad Catholic spirit. The older I grow, the less I love what bears the sect name and breathes of the sect spirit; and "Protestant Episcopalianism" has no more grace or charm for me than Presbyterianism, or Methodism, or Congregationalism, or whatsoever other "ism" there be. The learned and devout Dr. Mahan, whose soul is with the saints we trust, once said, touchingly, in an hour which was to him particularly dark, "So far as our own Church is concerned, I avow myself her dutiful though unworthy son; and so far as the Catholic Church is concerned, "I believe" in her though I see less of her than my poor heart craves." The feeling grows with years, that it were a blessed thing to have done forever with the negations, the queries, the objections, the oppositions, which mark the Sect-temper, and to enjoy a fuller measure of Catholic teaching and Catholic devotion.—Now God forbid that we should be further handicapped with modern inventions and novelties. As there is but One Gospel, which not even an angel from

heaven could improve, and to which neither Pope nor Philosopher can legitimately add by process of development, so the living voice of that Gospel, as uttered in Creed, Liturgy, and devotional offices, must be, from age to age, in harmony with itself. The true faith cannot change, however the world changes; and therefore it could not be taught or kept by a Liturgy reflecting the thoughts of men, or the particular views of the day. Such a production, revised and corrected from time to time to meet alleged demands of the age, might perhaps gratify the æsthetic and the transcendentalist,—it certainly would, if it had plenty of gush and little or no dogma, but were like the shimmer of moonbeams and red-fire on a fog,—but to us poor souls who wish to know and keep that truth which is the same yesterday and to-day and forever, it would be of no more use than a compass which varied from bell to bell with the motion of the ship, instead of always pointing one way.

I know well the “contumely” which is heaped by our “proud men” on those who hold such views; that we are styled “mole-ministers,” fossils, impracticables; that we are regarded as faithless to the movements of the day, and unable to keep pace with the progress of the age. Well, gentlemen, say all this and more at your will; but give us credit for having a reasonable basis for our position; “let no man think us fools; if otherwise yet as fools receive us.” Whatever may be in front, we cannot mistake what is behind. The Anglican Communion is free as yet from the taint of development, whether of the papal or rationalistic order. The Church at whose altars we serve has a well understood position: she claims to be as truly the Church of the past as the Church of the future. Her appeal is to Antiquity, to Holy Scripture as interpreted by Ancient Authors, to the General Councils, to authentic standards of faith and worship having the mark of Catholic consent and approval; her charge to her priests was, and is still, that they teach no other doctrine to their people than such as the old Catholic Fathers and Doctors taught. Holding this ground, we trust that she has a great part to play by and by in the Reunion of Christendom, on the basis of the Nicene Creed, the Apostolic Order, the Priesthood, and the Sacramental System.

Her position can hardly be misunderstood; it cannot be changed except by processes which would wholly change her character, and build a structure of a different design



in her place. Why are we so bitterly reproached, by the advocates of progress in religion, when we are but honest men, loyal to the principle at the root of the whole system, revering our genealogical record, and keeping to the law of our existence? Religion has nothing to do with secular progress or political change; lucifer matches, express trains, telegraphs, electric lights, telephones, world's fairs, congresses of the nations, war drums of the world, trades' unions, socialism, scientific discoveries, cannot possibly be brought in as elements of the old Gospel, though a new one might no doubt be invented more to the taste of those who seem to think that, somehow or other, human nature has changed since the Fall, and that the diseases of our souls need a different treatment now, and new medicines, and a new Physician. From such positions we dissent; and, for my own part, I cannot see, looking unto the Rock whence we were hewn and to the hole of the pit whence we were digged, how or where we are wrong. Now then, what finally we ask, is this: that as the Faith is One, and the Church Catholic and Apostolic, and the Religion old; so her Liturgical forms, her rites and ceremonies, her forms and offices may ever be in harmony with herself, and that in trying to amend, improve, and embellish, we shall most sedulously avoid the modern and the novel, adhere to the family traditions, and keep up the honor of the name. "*Nemo bibens vetus statim vult novum; dicit enim, Vetus melius est.*"

Fourteen years ago a great scholar of the Church of England, writing on the subject of Revision, used these weighty words, which, in conclusion, I commend to the consideration of thoughtful men:—

"When it is borne in mind that the old Evangelical party is, by the confession of its own organs and leaders, perishing before our very eyes, and that one large section of the Broad Church school (with no protest from the other) is in active revolt against the whole supernatural side of Christianity, the practical impolicy of altering the Prayer Book in their interest will be even more obvious than even its theological peril. When, on the other hand, it is remembered that not only is there a wide spread feeling that the disunion of Christendom has lasted long enough, and that the English Church appears to be the only possible link by which Greece, Rome, and Germany (using these terms in their widest theological meaning) can be joined again, but that the hundreds of Dissenters

who are constantly conforming do so almost always because attracted by the Catholic element amongst us, it seems to be true wisdom to revert to the doctrinal and ritual system which prevailed centuries before modern innovations and corruptions in belief and practice arose. We cannot do so absolutely, without so much alteration as to amount to actual reconstruction, but we may fairly endeavor to do so relatively, and to make all changes in this direction, and in no other."

I take leave of our good company, with apologies for having occupied so much of their time, and with no doubt that if the "Symposium" is to proceed, he who comes next will be much more worthy of a hearing, and likely to tell us things to more purpose.

MORGAN DIX.



## THE LAW OF PROGRESS IN HISTORY.

**I**F it be proverbially true that there is nothing new under the sun, it is equally true that by the collation and combination of things that are or may be easily known by careful inquiry, new methods of action are disclosed, new trains of thought open before us, and new determinations are made from old data which lay around us before as *dissecta membra* of a primal system which suggests reconstruction, on a new synthesis into more beautiful and useful forms.

Among such results are the establishment of the laws by which man and nature are governed. We call them material and physical, moral and intellectual laws; and the eager mind, even in the midst of apparent chaos, seeks for these laws, as an aim for its powers, and also as a safe and cheering *viaticum* in its wanderings among the mazes of our existence. They facilitate action, they permit and induce what we call progress. History takes careful note of them and marks their efficiency; and so we must turn to this "science of sciences" to give an account of their formation and operation. It is historic *nomology* which refutes the old proverb; it is a new thing under the sun. It is history alone which can answer the question whether there is a law of progress, and show us

the laborious induction by which it can be found. Thus we enter without preface upon an inquiry which still occupies the serious attention of profound thinkers, and concerning which many, and apparently contradictory, theories have been advanced. If the law of progress has not thus far been clearly defined and absolutely demonstrated, like a mathematical problem; if, when we think we have reached a solution, some amorphous contradiction rises to discourage us, it seems at least always in process of discovery, rendered less difficult as new statistics are presented, and offering in the very search methods which bid fair to expand into a law.

In this search we are thrown upon the Baconian philosophy. Induction which is the foundation of all scientific inquiry, alone can serve our turn in this investigation. Observations, similar to those by which Kepler established the laws of planetary motion, or Linnæus the systematic conditions of vegetable life, must be made in the moral realm, before we can attain to a law of progress; the *modus* is the same, but the moral statistics are far more varied and elusive.

The question of human progress seems to turn upon so many and such adventitious circumstances that the induction seems indeed infinite. The very elements are mysterious in their nature: the individual and social man, is connected with the material, intellectual and moral, in such curious combinations, that they are not often clearly definable, one from the others: the question is a complicated one, of science and morals,—of the carnal mind, and the sorely trammelled spirit, acting separately and together, individually and socially, in relation to our fellows, and in relation to a mysterious higher authority; under generic laws, with specific differences. The social system is indeed made up of individuals; but the result, instead of being simply a concurrent life, capable of arithmetical treatment, seems to have a new colossal vitality and identity. "Humanity," says Louis Blanc, "is a man who lives forever and who never ceases to learn."\*

Then, there are the singular appearances of great men on the stage of history, like Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon,—new revelations of the power of man over his fellows,—who, by clearness of thought,

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\* L'humanité est un homme qui vit toujours, et qui apprend sans cesse. Hist. se I. 575.

audacity of action, and an individual magnetism, acknowledged but not yet explained, change the current of public thought, the form of government, and the after history of nations; who seem, for a time, to usurp the control from the hand of Providence.—

“Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,  
Re-judge his justice, be the god of God.”

From such, and many other causes, we find, in the study of progress, occasional stoppages, fierce thrusts backward; in some countries almost a relegation to barbarism; civilization overthrown, lost arts, and almost an abandonment of hope for humanity. But these, like the “stations” and “retrogradations” of planets in our study of astronomy, are often more apparent than real, and we recover hope as we proceed. “France,” says Sir Erskine May, “suffers from intellectual stoppage.” History is full of moral and intellectual stoppages, which are even more clearly discerned.

Thus far the farthest point we have reached in our search for the law of progress, in this almost infinite induction, is that there is great probability or likelihood of such a law; and we are rendered happy if each step forward serves to corroborate a former position, and give our theory, if not thorough confirmation, at least new support.

With these prolegomena, based upon the general intelligence of the reader, I proceed to enunciate the subject. What is progress? There are many specific answers, some making *progress* and *civilization* convertible terms, and many defining it, in contravention of logical rules, by language not as intelligible as the word itself. “Civilization,” according to Matthew Arnold, “is the humanization of man in society. Man is civilized when the whole body of society comes to live with a life worthy to be called human, and corresponding to man’s true aspirations and powers.” He goes on somewhat more clearly,—“Expansion, conduct, science, beauty, manners,—here are the conditions of civilization, the claimants which man must satisfy before he can be humanized.”\* But all this, like his “sweetness and light,” is more abstract than practical. We have glimpses of meaning, rather than clear definition. According to Edmond About, progress is “the

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\* Preface to “Mixed Essays.”

increase of good upon earth."\* I might multiply definitions of these words, but to no purpose. By progress, in this paper I mean, the steady advance of humanity towards what is best and completest for it, in all its interests. By *steady* I do not mean always uniform in velocity, or uninterrupted; but always capable, sooner or later, of removing temporary obstructions, and still proceeding towards this goal. Progress is like a stream, which overleaps or passes around all barriers, and sends its resistless tide to the ocean. And this best for humanity, materially, intellectually, æsthetically, and morally, appears to be, if not a return to former perfection, the ideal of that of which humanity is capable. Thus it seems to be of final purpose; it tends to a condition of things which will be perfect and permanent,—the highest good, the purely true, the perfectly beautiful,—the sanctified dominion of logic, ethics, and æsthetics, under the sovereignty of the human mind.

Of this threefold division the good, as unfolded in ethics, is the essential and predominant. Logic only gives validity to its proofs; æsthetics only presents its emanations in the loveliest forms. All developments of humanity tend to virtue or moral excellence, and with these approach the perfection of humanity. If this postulate be not accepted, I am at a loss for a substitute.

The proper order in which to consider the question proposed is this,—first, as to the facts. Do the records of history show us such progress as this; and second, as to the law deduced from the facts, and controlling the facts. Is there such a law? Is it uniform in its operation? Is it subject to violations and contraventions? Does it silently operate even where facts seem to denote a check, or retardation? Does man control his destiny, or is he bound in the adamant chains of fate, which the philosophers call *necessity*? These are questions upon which volumes have been written, and which have given new point to the apothegm that "much study is a weariness to the flesh."

I. In considering the facts of history as they indicate progress, we are first struck with the material subject of population. Adopting the Mosaic record that the whole human family sprang from one pair, upon whom nature

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\* Le progrès, c'est-à-dire accroissement de bien sur la terre. "Le Progrès," p. 15.

impressed the necessity that they should "increase and multiply," it is unnecessary to point out that in a space of time, astonishingly short to the cursory observer, the single pair became a thousand, and great nations seemed to spring out of the earth. Thus the Greeks, in token of such marvellous increase, called themselves *autochthones*, and wore the golden grasshopper as a symbol in their hair.

Thus came into being the numerous peoples of the antediluvian world; and thus the thousands of thousands of millions since the flood. What more familiar illustration of increase in population is there than that of the children of Israel, who went down with their father into Egypt? When Moses delivered them from their bondage, according to our reading of the record, they were two millions of people, including six hundred thousand fighting men. The heretic bishop, Colenso, reduces this number greatly,\* but even adopting his estimate the increase is great, and the results marvellous.

Taking this as a single but representative illustration of progress in peopling the earth, the question arises incidentally but curiously: What is the limit of progress in this regard? If there be no stay to such prolific elements the result must be disastrous. Will "humanization" proceed *passibus equis* with such increase? Will the earth be found capacious enough and fertile enough for such crowds, and thus equal to the mighty task of giving them food and shelter? Thus we find both a moral and a material element suggested by a consideration of the earth's population. When the spaces are filled by the new-comers, and the fertility of the soil and the depths of the sea taxed to their utmost to give them food,—the material limit is reached; all additions are a positive evil not simply to human life but to morals. This view of the subject gave rise to the speculations of Thomas Robert Malthus, a political economist of the last century, which are set forth in his treatise on "The principles of population as it affects the future improvement of society." His theory made a great stir in his day, and if it gives very little concern to those living at the present time, it is because, if there be such a limit to the earth's capacity, it is still at an invisible distance. Divested of statistics it is substantially this:—The human race increases in geometrical rates,—such at least is its

\* "The Pentateuch, etc.," p. 164.



normal rate ; while the average fertility of land to supply men with the "staff of life," is found to develop in arithmetical proportion. Now, if this be true, it is manifest that the increase in population would speedily overtake and overlap the power of the earth to support ; and there would be a fearfully rapid production of mouths, which there would be nothing to fill. The moral result would be disastrous : they would struggle for food, and an internecine war would ensue, until the material equilibrium should be restored, soon again to be destroyed. The moral status could not so easily be recovered.

I am not going to discuss this question in political economy : I have only introduced it to show the possible limit of population, purely from a material point of view. It involves questions in morals far graver than this, but which I shall defer for the present. It may be proper to say that the inductions of Malthus, certainly curious and interesting in speculations, were based upon very uncertain statistics. Of the greater portion of the earth's surface there was then no census,—there is no adequate one to-day—; he wrote without a knowledge of many factors in social science, which have since appeared ;—the tariff, which checks industry—and with it life—in one country to give industry and life to another ;—its opposite, free trade, for an international exchange of supplies,—the sending and receiving a surplus of productions ;—emigration partially dismanning one land to people another, at the command of fortuitous circumstances. He could take no just account of the diminution of peoples by wars and pestilence, which the doctrine of probabilities is only beginning to tabulate at the present day.

It is true that in a single country of limited extent, like England or Ireland, we may catch a glimpse of the overcrowding and starving, especially when crops fail, but it is speedily relieved by emigration, or an abundant harvest. If there be an element of truth in his theory ; and if progress in mind and morals operates in its favor, by making men better and wiser, and thus rendering them more careful of health and life, removes the checks of war and disease, it would seem, at first sight, as if we must confess ourselves unable to meet the issue ; as if the increase in population will at last entail universal misery upon mankind. In this case we must helplessly leave the matter to Providence. But we are not content to rest here. Perhaps, when this very far off limit is reached, or approached,

there will be such a new order established, such a renovation of man and nature, as shall restore a constant equilibrium. Monogamy has made such a check upon polygamy in the world's history; and, it may be provided in some moral and logical way, for the non-propagation and non-production of those who would over-crowd the world by their coming: we can easily suggest a law limiting population to a normal increase, and not permitting the species to multiply even as at the present time. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

I have dwelt with what may seem undue importance upon population as the prime element of progress, as representing the social being by whom and for whom this progress is designed, because it is out of this gregarious or social condition, that progress begins. It is here that we have the best exemplification of the proverb that "necessity is the mother of invention"; and that while it "has no law," it immediately sets to work to make one. The law of progress, if there be one, is the law of necessity.

In an infant community, constantly growing in wonder, in hope, in speculations of the future, and in numbers, the needs of men sharpen their wits to provide, first food and shelter for the maintenance of animal life; then government and laws for the security of human life, and at last the splendid train of "ingenuous arts" and sciences which spring from man's quickened invention and soften the manners of men. It is a struggle for life, at first under difficult, and soon under better conditions; all the forces of nature seem to conspire against man, and only yield to his intelligence and energy.\* With the struggle comes momentum, and this momentum is initial progress. Nor only so, for with the facts of this early progress, a law begins already vaguely to declare itself. With the increase of knowledge and the development of art, we begin to generalize and classify, and the beneficent reign of law is asserted. Crude things take better shape; doubtful matters are reduced to demonstration; and new modes of living for the comfort of the increasing multitude are established. We have entered upon a career of progress.

Of such material progress, I know of no more striking illustration than that which is found in Macaulay's admir-

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\* "Il me semble que toutes les forces de la nature soient conjurées contre l'être vivant, privilégié de quelques heures." E. About, "Le Progrès," p. 12.

able epitome of the change in English life since the year 1665.\* Read by the light of to-day, the synoptical picture he presents of England of less than two hundred years ago, sounds like a fairy tale; it is so far removed from the England of to-day. It is but one among many such pictures presented by history, which is full of fairy tales.

Then the population of all England was between five and six millions; there were but two regiments of household troops, and no standing army: the militia, numbering only one hundred and thirty thousand, constituted the sole defensive force of the kingdom, which depended otherwise on its insular condition, and the storms of the channel, for immunity from continental interference. As compared with the present condition of agriculture, the country was almost a waste. Only about half its area was in arable land or pasture. Much was barren heath, or unreclaimed fen-land. There was no rotation in crops; there were comparatively few hedge-rows. The roads were in a wretched condition, and the government was little concerned to make them better. Persons, who were obliged to travel, did so in heavy and clumsy coaches, drawn by six horses, with men engaged to run alongside, provided with ropes and crowbars, to pry them out of the mud which they certainly would encounter. The fifty-five miles of journey between London and Oxford, on a highway constantly in use, was two days long, until, just about that time the "flying coach" was put on the line, under the Vice-Chancellor's warrant, and astonished the natives by making the trip in one day. These wretched roads were infested with highwaymen, whose clever deeds English literature has invested with a kind of vulgar romance, which would continue to produce highwaymen, except that lightning trains will not "stand and deliver."

Now, mark the wondrous progress. The population of England alone is more than twenty-two millions; that of Scotland three millions and a half; while Ireland has nearly six millions, and Wales a million and a half. Every square foot of available land in England is under cultivation. Let the traveller move by fast train in any direction through the little kingdom, and he is every where in a garden land; living hedges separate the estates; there is an admirable system of labor, and poor-laws; practical science operates everywhere; life and property are safe,—

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\* In the last chapter of vol. I. First English edition.

the bodies of men are made comfortable, and the general diffusion of education has accomplished great if not corresponding wonders for the minds of the English people. England's East Indian possessions have been greatly enlarged and consolidated into an empire; and the American colonial plantations of the days of James II., have been transformed into a great nation, governed in the main by English law, speaking the English language, and extending the domain of Anglo-Saxon thought and independence. Such is the material increase; the question is pertinent,—is all this real progress? Are men happier and better, because they are more numerous, and more learned, and more materially comfortable? This is a moral question which I propose to defer again until I can meet it presently in a more concrete form. The moral idea must enter as a factor, as we shall see; there is an intuition of goodness which must have great consideration.

It would seem that long before the dawn of historic records, this idea of moral progress has pervaded the minds of all peoples; with most of them there has been a belief in the fall or aberration of man from an original God-likeness, and progress implies a gradual but certain and complete restoration to the image of the maker.\* In all ages men have spoken of it and written of it. The sacred Scriptures, considered only as a historic record, are full and eloquent of it. It is to my mind the clear and stern idea of the *Prometheus Vincit*. The fire which he stole from Heaven was the vital spark of progress. The agonized Demigod consoled his fearful agonies, while the vultures were tearing his entrails, with the beautiful prophetic vision, which even his intense and unexpiating sufferings could not obscure, of men emerging from brutish ignorance into the light of knowledge,—a knowledge of nature, of the seasons, of the heavenly orbs, of navigation, of an alphabet and writing to preserve and transmit all other knowledge; of the power to do right, of the will to redress wrong, and make others happy; and while thus Prometheus proclaims the fact of progress, and suggests a coming law, he predicts the downfall of that enormous tyranny—of Jupiter and fate; not yet entirely dethroned, but slackening its throttling grasp from day to day.

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\* Here the argument is not concerned about the evolution theory, for that doctrine is essentially one of progress from the lowest to the highest. The evolutionists are *ab initio* progressionists.

And the modus of this progress had for the Greeks a celestial origin, and was presented as a universal boon: When the messenger of the gods was about to carry justice and moderation from heaven to earth; he asked Zeus, says Plato in his *Protagoras*, whether it should be given to few or to all; and the supreme Ruler answered,—“To all.” Universal progress was the law.

Thus for the Greeks and for mankind, demi-god and philosopher struck the key-note of the sounding march of historic progress; it was always an advance from lower to higher; from baser to purer; and it was a monstrous and abnormal picture which presented itself to the fancy of Horace, and caused him to cry out, in astonishment and warning, that the Romans were reversing this natural order by their crimes:—

“*Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?  
Aetas parentum, pejor avis, tulit  
Nos nequiores mox daturos  
Progeniem vitiosorem.*” \*

II. We come now in the second place,—given the facts of progress,—to consider what may be known of the law of progress. Is there a law, or is it all a jumble of events without order and consecution? Here we are face to face with the difficulties presented by the moral element. Philosophers are not in accord with regard to the forces at work to create this development and to determine its law, and their theories differ greatly as to the preponderance and value of this moral element. The different theories may be arranged under three heads:—

*First*, we have the transcendental view, which makes man the potent element in the progress of humanity: this may be called a purely metaphysical view.

*Second*, the theory that Nature is the agent, giving us the means and combining them: the laws of nature are declared by science: this is the physical view.

*Third*, there is a divine Providence, which gives laws to nature, and moulds and controls man, in some inexplicable manner; this is the theistic view.

Considered as data for the solution of the problem, each of these theories contains a truth, but only a partial truth; each looks at the subject from a single point of view. The real factors are all these combined and working in harmony; out of this co-operation the law must come; and

\* *Carm. Lib III. ode VI.*

out of it, we think comes the need of a higher conception still.

Science is digesting a system of laws governing the material world; and, in spite of some troublesome questions yet unanswered, we are establishing laws which interpret the operations of the mind; but science finds itself so confronted with mysteries in the moral world, that, excluding revelation, it is a far more difficult task to find the moral element in the law of progress, even while we are noting the facts.

It was manifestly impossible that any adequate idea of social science should be set forth until in the history of communities, the principle of growth and succession had begun to be discerned. Here the statistician is an important character, and social science finds itself subject to the laws of probability leading to certainty, by which we tabulate not only death, disease and crime, but also virtue and religion.

It is manifest that we are still learning in physical and intellectual science, and that there is still a vast amount to learn; but the important question presents itself whether this is so with reference to a moral standard. Is not that, at least as contrasted with the domains of matter and mind, fixed and unalterable, simple and universally known? The chemistry of to-day we know has discarded the half-knowledge, the classification and the methods of a century ago; it is little more than a hundred years ago that oxygen was discovered by Priestly; and it may be that a new element will appear to overturn an analysis. It is so with many other sciences; is it thus with morals? and this brings us to the momentous, crucial question:—If there be a similar scientific progression in morals, what is the present condition and what the future destiny of the Christian religion? The settlement of this problem seems to me to lie directly in the way of determining the law of progress.

Rationalism propounds it, but philosophy must solve it. Is not Christianity only a step, a large and lofty one indeed, in general moral progress? But will not the next stride which humanity is endeavoring to make, carry us far beyond and above its requirements and claims? There have been many and beautiful systems of religion in history, excogitated by men who thought themselves moved by the inspiration of Heaven; is not Christianity one among these, better and more beautiful perhaps, but

still one of many? Jesus was a great man and a good man, but still a man; may not the ages produce a greater and a better one, who shall teach greater and better things? Such is the humanitarian view; such the belief of the learned and devout heretic, Ernest Rénan; and of thousands, who know little and admire less than he.

If these things be so, should we rest content with what we have, or, should we not rather set about at once in search of the newer and better religion; feeling, however, sadly sure that it too will be an experiment and expedient, to be accepted, with conceded errors, and want of completeness, which Time and Progress alone can make manifest? That view makes religion, at any time, only a fearful partisanship, inspired by selfishness, imposed by education and public custom,—a blind acceptance without any real faith.

In proceeding to consider this question let me say that if there is any thing History seems to point out with infallible finger, it is the *moral unity* of the human race. The physical unity, so strongly announced in Scripture, is being slowly and surely approached by science, especially by linguistic science, which has, within less than half a century, clearly defined the two great families of languages, the Aryan and the Semitic; with a third doubtful class; and is now beginning to perceive, dimly indeed, an analogy between the two former themselves. But the moral unity to which I refer is based upon a different principle, an intuition which is common to all men, and at all periods, everywhere. Among all peoples, more or less distinctly displayed according to their lights, truth has been truth, and justice justice; valor is recognized as a virtue; and for the right to exercise judgment on moral actions men have always striven: every form of human faith has had its martyrs. Guilt and innocence have been recognized as relative and variable, according to knowledge, but right and wrong are immutable and eternal. It has been universally acknowledged that all virtue has its origin in the idea of *self-sacrifice*,\* consistent, in the opinion of many, with self-preservation. Religion sacrifices man to his relations with his God; courage leads him to imperil his own life and interests for

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\* For an interesting discussion of this subject the reader is referred to Goldwin Smith's *Lectures on the Study of History*, (Harper & Brothers) p. 127 et seq.

the good of others ; chastity controls his baser appetites at the sacrifice of his sensual pleasures. Generosity and benevolence divert our means and our actions from ourselves to others. Asceticism had its origin in the denial to self of those social pleasures which were thought to interfere with the best service to God. Thus I might go through the catalogue : such virtues, it is true, are rarely found in abstract perfection, but in each representation there is enough of the pure to exhibit their inspiration. "The highest attention," says Herbert Spencer, in his *Data of Ethics*, (p. 250), "is that which ministers not to the egoistic satisfaction of others only but to their altruistic satisfaction."\*

It is at this point that Christian revelation confronts the philosopher simply as an intellectual question and demands that its claims be carefully examined. Of the great fact of Christianity, and the person and historical character of its founder ; of the authenticity and credibility of most of the events recorded of his life and ministry, most men who have considered the subject are entirely satisfied. For the moral code set forth in the Gospel even the greatest skeptics have only words of praise. It is based upon the universal idea of *self-sacrifice*. It is conceded that in an age of gross crimes, and conflicting opinions it threw its radiant beams upon the hard letter of the Jewish law, interpreting it anew, and presenting as a summary of all "the law and the prophets," the two commandments—to love God—the supreme good—and our neighbor as ourselves : there is little room for self. It thus discloses a vision of universal brotherhood. It did not alter the relations of man to the Supreme Being ; it disclosed them more fully, and thus made the path of duty clear. It claimed more,—that through the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, man was enabled, as never before, to do his duty. But leaving for the present all questions as to exact interpretation and the nature of inspiration, apart ; there are few who will deny that the moral system preached and exemplified in the life of Jesus, leaves nothing to be desired as to the principle of morality, whatever their "data of ethics" may be. Those

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\* In another place he says,—and considering our imperfect condition not without force,—"If the maxim 'live for self' is wrong, so also is the maxim, 'live for others.' Hence a compromise is the only possibility." p. 219.



who do must be left to their own devices: to my mind this moral system seems unchangeable: I cannot penetrate beyond it.

It must be here observed that as Christianity restrains desires and appetites, it does not suit the pride of mind and the promptings of human will, and many men approach its consideration, not to find proof or corroboration, not even to accept what is clear, but to resist, confute and overthrow: not to find out its truth, but to prove it false. Others, seemingly its friends, distort or smother it with ignorant adoption, or partial acceptance. Hence, in the history of the world, since the establishment of Christianity, we find it bleeding from the attacks of enemies, or entangled with error—from which it must be rescued. It is half studied, half neglected, sometimes entirely ignored. What it needs, therefore, is not a substitute, but a reform, a return to its original essence and purity: and this purgation is necessary as often as men pervert or violate it. Its progress has been retarded on the one hand by want of knowledge, leading to lack of faith; and, on the other, by excess of ignorant credulity; these apparently oppose each other, but really play into each other's hands. The miracles of superstition in the middle ages, still kept up in some of the southern countries of Europe, gave food and strength to the party of skeptics, and our Holy religion, between the two, suffered at the hands of both.

Most disastrous of all is the so-called conflict with science—a want of faith in the infinite, by reason of partial progress in the finite; one-sided, incomplete investigations of men eminent in their own departments, and ignorant in others;—physicists and not metaphysicians, met, sword in hand, by theologians, more enthusiastic than enlightened; who, like the knights approaching the hanging shield from opposite directions, see entirely different colors and escutcheons, and defy each other *à toute outrance* under the speaking witness of their folly.

Mysteries they are claimed to be which reason cannot penetrate, because they partake of the infinite, and reason is finite; but great truths there are so clear that he who runs may read. Now, in the discussion of historic progress, it is a just demand of the Christian religion that it should be patiently and respectfully heard before it is condemned.

Here, of course, we are confronted by a school of philos-

ophers who deny our premises *in toto*: who claim that morality, like physical science, is developing and relative; that there is no absolute right.\* They concede that there is *truth*, and that progressive science seeks for it; and that the search itself is a condition of intellectual development. So in morals it is claimed that we can only search for the true, and that humanity can never find it in its purity and fullness.

I believe that in the worlds of mind and matter, men may go on learning to the end of time. I dare not assert that there is no development in morals, but I do assert that history thus far has never shown it. There is a *deontology*, a determination of morality as it should be, and this doubtless does not come entirely by intuition. Ignorant men must learn it, before they can make what we call moral progress; that is, an accordance of our views and actions with this high standard; but this deontology has been before the eyes of philosophers—in its simple principles from the beginning. The decalogue was a declaration of what God had given to the intelligence of men long before, but they would not heed the voice within them, and so it was necessary that the law should come by Moses, amid the thunders of Sinai.

There has been exhibited, too, in all ages a failure of intellectual capacity, and magnetic power, for exciting and nourishing a *love of the right*,—and a lack of sensibility to virtuous aspirations in the multitude. "They know and even approve the better, but follow the worse."

But no one who has studied the subject can fail to see the vast difference, as to change and progress, between material and intellectual truth on the one hand, and moral truth on the other. The free-thinkers even assert it boldly, in order to make a point in their own argument: their weapon may, however, be turned against them. Here Buckle is particularly strong. "There is," he says, "unquestionably, nothing to be found in the world which has undergone so little change as those great dogmas of which moral systems are composed. To do good to others, to sacrifice for their benefit your own wishes, to love your neighbor as yourself, to forgive your enemies, to

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\* We have fallen into a loose way of using the word *right*, as when a teacher tells his pupil in arithmetic that a result is *right* or *wrong*, meaning, if it be a proposition, that it is *true* or *false*, and if an argument, that it is *valid* or *invalid*.

restrain your passions, to honor your parents, to respect those who are set over you, these, and a few others, are the sole essentials of morals." \*

"Morality," says Sir James Mackintosh, "*admits no discoveries*. More than three thousand years have elapsed, since the composition of the Pentateuch; and let any man, if he is able, tell me, in what important respect the rule of life has varied since that distant period. Let the Institutes of Menu be explored with the same view; we shall arrive at the same conclusion. \* \* \* The facts which led to the formation of moral rules are as accessible, and *must be as obvious to the simplest barbarian as to the most enlightened philosopher*. \* \* \* The case of the physical and speculative sciences is directly opposite. There the facts are remote and inaccessible. From the countless variety of the facts with which they are conversant, it is impossible to prescribe any bounds to their future improvement. It is otherwise with morals: they have hitherto been stationary, and in my opinion they are likely forever to continue so." †

The French *libre-penseurs* and the followers of Herbert Spencer will hardly be satisfied with such utterances. The Christian believer may accept them as a stepping-stone to his position, that this simple and unalterable moral law as set forth in the religion of Christ is for all time, that men can learn nothing more and nothing better, for there is nothing more and better; and he may advance the claim that in human progress all that is material and intellectual must come to this moral standard to be measured and sanctified and duly commissioned for functions of good to humanity. Here he says, is my system and here are its vouchers: it invites study and challenges criticism.

An argument in favor of Christianity has been based upon its great extension and influence in the world: taken alone this is not conclusive, as it proves too much. Other religions have spread over vaster areas and influenced greater numbers, and might claim, therefore, greater truth and sanctity, if this reasoning be allowed. But I would call attention to the important fact that the opponents of Christianity have been trained in the school and with the weapons of Christianity: they breathe uncon-

\* "History of Civilization," vol. I, p. 129.

† "Life of Mackintosh," edited by his son; vol. I, pp. 119-122.



torian Guizot,—his last utterance as he was passing into the revealing of eternity:—"I have inquired, I have doubted, I have believed in the sufficiency of the human mind to solve the problem presented to it by the universe and by man; and in the power of the human will to govern man's life in accordance with its law and its moral purpose. After having lived, acted and reflected long, I have remained and still remain convinced that neither the universe nor man suffice to explain or to govern themselves naturally by the mere force of fixed laws to which they are subject, and of human wills that are brought into play. It is my profound faith that God, who created the universe and man, governs, upholds and modifies them, either by general, and we may say natural, laws, or by special, and, as we call them, supernatural acts, emanating, as do also the general laws, from this perfect and free wisdom and His infinite power, which it is given to us to acknowledge in their effects, but which we are forbidden to understand in their essence and design. Thus I have returned to the convictions in which I was cradled. Still firmly attached to reason and liberty, which I have received from God, and which are my honor and my right in this world, \* \* \* \* I recognize Him present and at work, not only in the fixed system of the universe and in the minor life of the soul, but also in the history of human society, especially in the Old and New Testaments—monuments of revelation and divine action, by the mediation and sacrifice of our Saviour Jesus Christ for the salvation of the human race. I bow before the mysteries of the Bible and the Gospel, and I stand aloof from the discussions and the scientific solutions by which men have tried to explain them." This is not an argument in form, but a judgment after a long life of argument.

Thus, I am forced to the conclusion that while progress is made in accordance with the principles of metaphysics, physics and mechanics, the guiding law, transcending and transmuting their results, is a moral law. The intellect suggests, reason and invention operate, and conscience combines and sanctions what is best for humanity.

Thus my views are formulated in a creed:—I believe in a ruling personal Deity; that belief is a part of my nature as my sight and hearing are, and is corroborated by my reading of history. I believe in truth and justice in principles, not relative but absolute. I find progress in history as a fact, and as a moral and beneficent fact. Our days

are longer and wiser and better than our fathers' days. I find progress, not only in man's conquest over nature,—a small matter taken alone,—but in his victory over universally acknowledged evil. This moral law of progress has nothing to do with tides and orbits, and apparently inexorable natural forces. It compels no one, for man is free to will: it may be and often is obstructed in its operation, but history and "natural religion" show that social life in all its conditions is infused by its power. Like the Incarnate word, and by His decree, it is a light "which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

In the words of a French essayist:—"It is ours to concentrate, to increase the radiance of this light; it is ours to study to be capable of perceiving it more and more in its purity and simplicity, to train our will to greater energy, to cultivate that free and intelligent force which develops in us the practice of duty, in the sacred work of progress. Neither fatality nor nature can excuse us from this task, for progress is precisely *the triumph of reason and moral freedom over Nature and Fate.*"\* Add to this, to make it complete, that Christianity claims to quicken the motive and to bestow the needed power, and the data of the problem, sufficient and exact, are in our hands. We only ask that they be carefully studied and combined.

We may pass now to a very brief consideration of the efforts of men to find and formulate this law, and to give it practical application. Space is wanting to speak of ancient theories and systems. In modern times many great philosophers have proposed such systems. Their work must not be ignored or despised. They all concede the fact of progress and a law, and would establish grooves in which history is to run in the future, but progress seems to be a vital entity, and will not be treated like inert matter.

Progress according to Cousin is marked in history by the successive appearance on the great theatre of three ideas, founded in reason,—the *Infinite*, the *Finite*, and the *relation or harmony between the two*. The first of these ideas—the infinite—is displayed in the thought and progress of the ancient East—including the Mosaic dispensation. The second—the finite—is the pervading idea of the religion and politics of Greece and Rome—based upon Nature and sense; and the third is the problem of our modern civiliza-

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\* Ludovic Garran, Rev. des Deux Mondes, October 1, 1875.

tion. There is much in this system which we are not disposed to condemn; but it is at once too vast and too vague for practical use. We need a more specific classification. It recognizes the infinite, which is simply a negative—the *non-finite*, of mind and matter, but the moral element is obscured.

The system of Comte limits progress to knowledge and science: in obtaining this knowledge humanity passes through three stages, or periods of development:—

1. The Theological, in which men, in the infancy of the race, refer the inexplicable to a God, and are content with a supernatural origin for all such phenomena. This he calls superstition, and certainly much of it was.

2. The metaphysical stage; in this the mind of society is strengthened; man increases in knowledge; he begins to set aside the supernatural, and to look for abstract forces, which may occasion the phenomena of nature and mind. In this age, these forces were called *virtues*, such as the virtues of cohesion, of gravity, of affinity.

3. The Positive, in which men no longer seek for causes but study only phenomena. We are now in the Positive stage; and Comte has made a classification of six Positive sciences,—Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Sociology. Theology finds no place, because it is, as has been said, a stage marking human imperfection; what consideration of it remains, if any, must be under the head of Sociology, as Metaphysics finds itself subordinated to Biology. Theology is a thing of the past, a poor expedient in "the times of ignorance;" it taught fables not even "cunningly devised." Metaphysics has served its turn and been whirled away into the limbo of vanity. It is positivism alone which will accomplish true progress towards the perfection of humanity. Comte called himself the founder of the religion of humanity: he instituted a Calendar of Saints, among whom figure,—in merit of their positivism,—Moses, Homer, Aristotle, Cæsar and Charlemagne, and—strange to add,—S. Peter and S. Paul!

The assertion of Comte that these three stages are distinct from each other, is not supported by historic proof. The theological and metaphysical are to-day curiously and vitally intermingled, and the positive philosophy which he designed to supplant them, and to affirm their futility, is only strong when taken in combination with them. There is still in the world much superstition and much metaphysical abstraction,

but positivism, ignoring all realms but that of reason, is worse than both.

Comte's doctrine is not new; it is as old as the Greek skeptics. It came to our modern world in its most dangerous form from the master-mind of Hume. By the denial of causation, it obliterates the First Great Cause: it is positive only in name; it has been more properly termed *agnosticism*. Comte was for a time crazy, but there was unfortunately so much method in his madness, that he influenced the lives of many who were entirely sane. Among them was Harriet Martineau, who in her brilliant career, described in her exceedingly interesting and sad "Life," passed through these successive stages, and left the world denying God and immortality.

I might speak of that materialistic school, which vaguely declares the connection between humanity and inanimate nature, and claims that social conditions are determined by the laws which govern physics, gravitation, attraction, expansion. Man is matter, and thus the law of progress for him is formed from the laws of physical science.

Or I might refer to those who find a striking analogy between the "Education of the World," and the four ages of life,—the world an infant, the world a youth, a man, an old man; or we may pursue the analogy to a more numerous division, as in the seven ages of Shakespeare. Carried out to its end this implies decline and death. At first sight, and as illustrated by the history of single nations, the theory seems to be not without truth, but as applied to the progress of humanity it is eminently false. Here history comes to our aid, and its facts are indeed stubborn things. Nations, and families of men have risen, flourished, declined and died; but to the great aggregate of human progress there has been great gain instead of loss. All that they have achieved and left behind them, of science and literature, of art and government, of invention and discovery, has remained for the benefit of that humanity "which always lives and never ceases to learn."

But I prefer to gain space for the consideration of a more practical and dangerous system than those just mentioned. Among the most practical forms of modern Socialism is that which is generally called *Communism*, and as it has adherents in America, it is of great present and practical interest. If we seek for what F. W. Robertson calls "the soul of goodness in things evil," we shall find that it claims to be founded upon human needs: it is



a blind effort to equalize the bounties of nature and the expedients of art, in order to clear the world of poverty, and the thousand ills which follow in its ragged train. The social problem is twofold and antithetic.—What shall we do with the houseless, naked and starving classes; and what shall they do with us?

The Spartan Helot toiled under rigorous laws, but he had his black bread and broth. The Roman proletaries, unclassed and untaxable, formed an independent and dangerous element in the Roman state; and when they roamed the streets with the menacing cry: *panem et circenses*, the authorities were prompt to relieve their necessities and divert their minds, for fear of their fury. The great French romancer, Victor Hugo, has shown us the fearful condition of the *Misérables* in France, with stern rebuke of the government and pregnant suggestions of relief; and “le problème de la misère” is much discussed in France.

Socialism, in general terms, seeks to regulate the relations of men in society, and to base the laws of property, of capital and labor, upon the idea of the good of all. It would modify legislation, and alter systems of government. But Communism, as now promulgated, strikes at the root of all existing social and political systems. It would do away with marriage and the family idea, because, from what we call conjugal affection, husband and wife are disaffected towards society; it would take the training of children out of the hands of their parents, because selfish interests and overweening affection render the parents the most unfit of all persons to bring up their children. In the view of the communist all principles, schemes and systems of political economy and social science have been radically wrong: the world must take a fresh start with this new motive power: must enter upon a career of real progress.

I have not time to speak of the “parallelograms” of Owen, or the “phalansteries” of Fourier, which, as practical experiments, have proved to be entire failures. The more modern conflict takes the form of labor against capital; it is not a controversy of opinions, but a battle of prejudices: the very watchword is unintelligible, but the rancor is fierce. The root idea struck most deeply in French soil, among the mercurial and easily excited lower classes of Paris, and of other cities following the example of the capital, who were led by demagogues in the name of

“liberty, equality and fraternity.” Such is the explanation of their wild fury in more than one period of modern history. If, as they were informed by their leaders, our civilization is based upon false principles; if history is the record of radical error, working out into the oppression of the rich and the suffering of the poor; then they are right in their furious attacks not only on the existing order, but upon the historic past with all its sacred traditions, its treasured relics, its glorious monuments. They sweep away the old with fire and hammer and petroleum,—palaces, temples, legislative halls, monumental columns, and triumphal arches, to clear the ground upon which they are to erect their new system, founded on Nature. They shoot an archbishop on the steps of his prison, and when he appeals to God, they laugh at the abstraction: “We wipe out God”—*Nous biffons Dieu*, is the answer. The points of attack differ according to circumstances: the revolution of '89, cut off heads, to get rid of monarchy and aristocracy; the Commune of 1871 burnt the Tuileries and the Palais Royal, and pulled down the Colonne Vendôme, to destroy history. The logic of Communism is to destroy, and then start anew on a career of progress. And with this work of destruction, is one of providing ways and means for the new progress; it is thus that we find its principal effort in the form of an attack of labor on capital; for equalized labor is the basis of society.

It has had spasmodic successes; but permanent success it can never have, for it would soon be strangled, overgorged by its own prosperity. Its partial success must be chiefly in those countries, where the population is crowded, and where the relations of capital and labor change little in long periods; where the rich man holds his capital, and enjoys its income, and the poor man can only earn his bread, or failing to earn it must starve, become infuriated, strike and die, a victim to the inequalities of the bounties of Providence. It is while he is in this state of despair that he clutches at any theory which gives deceitful promise of relief. This *Commune* has become “international,” and seeks to bring the laborers of every country into a bond for the common benefit.

There can be but little fear, I think, of any considerable success for the Communists in this country. Their voice will be heard indeed in feeble murmurs; their spirit will display itself in a few high-handed outrages, in times of great depression, like those through which our people have

not long since passed, when men were really suffering, and asked, not for reasons, but for bread. But the practical conditions of our political economy are too variable; capital passes too quickly and inconsequently from hand to hand; large fortunes are made and lost, or divided up, in a generation. The capitalist in America was a laborer yesterday, and may become one again to-morrow. The laborer, who to-day performs your menial services, and earns only his living, finds nothing to hinder him,—if he have intelligence and energy,—from rising in the business scale, and becoming a capitalist in a very short time.

Whereas, in the old and crowded countries of Europe, under a cast-iron system, Capital and Labor are algebraic constants, in America they are, and for a long time must be, variables,— $x$  and  $y$ , with constantly changing values according to the social and industrial conditions of the country—the settlement of its vast uninhabited parts, the increase of agriculture and manufactures, the building of routes of communication.

Very often  $y$  becomes greater than  $x$  in many values: and then let the results be carefully noted. Let us take a simple practical illustration:—The laborer who earns ninety cents a day, and can only not starve upon it, cries out against the capitalist, who is sinking his gains, and is only able, in the “hard times,” not to fall before the storm. But let the times change, let the laborer earn a dollar and a half a day, and by reason of the very economy he has so painfully learned, lay by fifty cents a day. In just that proportion he becomes a capitalist; that is, he is two thirds a laborer, and one third a capitalist; and then, whatever his views may have been before, self-interest, that most potent of human motives, prompts him at once to resist the communistic idea; he is not willing to share that half-dollar, the product of hard work, with any one else, any more than the rich man wishes to share his fifty dollars, or his five hundred.

But the low and ignorant,—and, we may add, the suffering, classes cannot reason. They are ready to listen to the most attractive, which is generally the loudest fallacy; and when mercurial temperaments like those of the Celt and the Gaul are fired into the excitement of multitudes, they are ready under the influence of Utopian promises, to kill, burn, and destroy; and progress receives a local and temporary check. By an examination of the statistics we find that comparatively few native Americans

are caught by such sophistry: they have a pride in their labor; with them it is a stepping-stone to capital; it prepares them for the use of capital, and looks to the establishment of a just relation between them. It is the ignorant, long oppressed foreign immigrant, who has brought his sore needs, his starving family, his want of skill, his improvidence, with him: it is he who covets his neighbor's goods to supply his own sad deficiencies.

Communism may do its utmost; it may form its secret associations. It may even for brief periods fire cities and shed blood,—every community suffers at some time from mob-law;—it may be harangued by incendiary speakers; but if our municipal law and social conduct inspire confidence by justice and honesty; if free education come to the aid of honest labor, our unparalleled resources, our long future development, our political equality, will combine to put an end to the controversy by enabling every laborer to become a capitalist, and by turning every capitalist, from a moral sense of duty, into a laborer for the general good.

With such a reciprocity, industries will flourish, money circulate freely, public benevolence become commensurate with the claims of poverty and suffering. The old institutions, under which we live, framed and established by the wisdom of ages, and sanctioned by the Almighty, will be protected, and grow stronger, and a new communism, based upon the love of God and the love of our neighbor, will rise upon the ruins of the earth-born and impracticable system which now bears the name.

Thus the practical claims of life are remanded to the moral standard, that they may become real elements in human progress. And thus, the more profound our study, the nearer do we approach to the conviction that the law of progress is the law of God, controlling the forces of nature, the operations of mind, and the dictates of conscience; this law is declared in human intuition and substantiated by human experience—it is transcendental and empirical both, and obedience to its requirements will produce that progress which we have defined to be “the steady advance of humanity towards what is best and completest for it, in all its interests.”

HENRY COPPÉE.



## THE RISE, CRISIS AND TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION IN SWEDEN.

### I.

#### SWEDEN FROM THE TREATY OF CALMAR (1398) TO THE ACCESSION OF GUSTAVUS TO THE THRONE, 1523.

**T**HE history of Scandinavia, previous to the union of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, under Queen Margaret, in accordance with the treaty of Calmar, is a record of violent commotions and revolutions, and of incessant wars between the three kingdoms. There is very little in it to repay the student of general history for the time and toil it will cost him to acquire any coherent idea of its ever shifting conditions and still less to attract or reward the student of ecclesiastical history.

#### *I. Scandinavia previous to the Treaty of Calmar, 1398.*

The reigns of Birger (1290-1319) and of his son Magnus (1319-1363) in Sweden, were so marked by cruelty and disaster to the nation that some of the banished nobles invited Albert, Count of Mecklenburg, son of the sister of Magnus, to invade the kingdom and take possession of the throne. He accepted the invitation and succeeded to the throne and reigned from 1363 to 1389. But his favors to Germans so offended the native nobility that they com-

pelled him to dismiss his German favorites, and to accept one of their number, BO JONSSON, as his chief adviser in the government. Jonsson soon became his master, and his heirs offered the throne to Margaret, Queen of Denmark and Norway. She sent an army into Sweden, which defeated and captured and imprisoned Albert. As Albert's son died in 1379 there was no one to contest Queen Margaret's claim to the throne, and the designation of her nephew ERIC, Duke of Pomerania to succeed to the triple throne of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which was secured by the treaty of Calmar, in 1398.

## II. Sweden under Queen Margaret.

The conditions upon which the union of the three kingdoms was concluded were such as seemed to promise peace and many mutual advantages. It promised to put an end to the feuds by which the Scandinavian kingdoms had hitherto been convulsed, and to give to each member of the confederacy, while still retaining its separate laws and customs, a strength beyond its own to resist the encroachments of more powerful states. It provided that the election of the king should in future be made conjointly,—the sons of the sovereign being preferred; each realm was to be governed by its own laws; fugitives from one country were not to be protected in another; all were bound to take up arms for the common defence.

It is obvious to remark how great would have been the advantages of such an arrangement if it could have been faithfully maintained; but it is equally obvious to conclude that such a union of rival states is scarcely practicable in the most advanced stages of civilization, and quite impossible at an era of violence and under an undefined system of succession to the throne. Margaret herself introduced, or rather set in motion, the existing elements of discord by her partiality to her Danish subjects,—to whom she committed the chief posts and fortresses of Sweden,—by her new and heavy imposts, her prodigality to the clergy, and her avowed policy of humbling the nobles of the land. The inevitable result immediately ensued—hatred on the part of the Swedes and devotion on the part of the Danes. By a native historian of Sweden she is said to have been regarded by the Danes as *sanctam et canonizatione dignam*, and by the Swedes as *profundissimo dignam inferno*.

### III. *Sweden under King Eric.*

The discontent of the Swedes broke out into open rebellion after the death of Queen Margaret and the accession of King Eric. The king was not qualified either by his character or his administrative ability to conciliate the esteem, or to silence the dissatisfaction of his subjects. His cruel treatment of his wife Phillippa of England, who by her gentleness and intelligence won the hearts of the Swedes, subjected him to deserved obloquy. In the pursuit of objects in which Sweden had no interest—the recovery of his dukedom of Pomerania and his fruitless attempt to conquer Schleswig—he exhausted the resources of the country and shed the blood of his subjects in wars from which they could reap no benefit. This continued drain of men and money from the kingdom, and the oppression of the Danes and Germans, who filled all the offices and occupied all the castles of the land, led to a civil war, which, checked from time to time, still broke out afresh, and was to be extinguished only after a hundred years of discord and bloodshed by the disruption of the union between Denmark and Sweden.

### IV. *Rising of Englebert in Dalecarlia.*

Englebert Englebertson, an intelligent, eloquent and popular miner of Dalecarlia, who had passed his youth in the household of great barons, and had there acquired a degree of knowledge and culture superior to that which was usual in his class, vowed to avenge the injuries suffered by the Dalecarlians in common with all their countrymen. The government of that province was in the hands of a Danish nobleman named Ericson. His administration was marked by every species of brutal cruelty and oppression. Englebert proceeded to Denmark and laid before the king proofs of the atrocious tyranny of Ericson. The king ordered an inquiry to be made and the charges were admitted by the State Council to have been sustained. Armed with their report Englebert returned to Denmark and laid it before the king and demanded the removal and punishment of Ericson. But the king had changed his mind, and ordered Englebert to be gone and never again to appear in his presence. Eric replied—"Yet once more I will return,"

The report of this reception by the king was the signal for revolt. The Dalesmen rose, elected Englebert to be



their leader, marched against Westeras in the autumn of 1433, and though induced to retire by some of the State Council who were there, by their promise to urge reforms, yet they would not disperse before taking an oath that they never again would pay taxes to Ericson. An attempt on the part of Ericson to collect the taxes led to a second insurrection; but the State Council having persuaded Ericson to resign his command, the Dalesmen were again appeased. Ericson himself took refuge in the monastery of Vadstena, from which, two years after, he was dragged out by the peasantry and put to death.

This was the first armed resistance to the Danish dynasty, which continued from this period (1433), at intervals and with varying fortunes, and with several revolutions, until at length, under Gustavus Vasa, and by his agency, Sweden became, and has since continued independent of Denmark.

#### V. *The relations of the two Kingdoms to the accession of Christian II. of Denmark.*

It was necessary to describe the circumstances under which Sweden became subject to the crown of Sweden, in order to understand the history of Gustavus Vasa, who both liberated Sweden from the sway of Denmark and introduced and established Protestantism in his kingdom. But it is not important, as preparatory to a sketch of the Reformation in Sweden, to narrate the civil history of the interval between the treaty of Calmar and the accession of Christian II. A mere outline of those events will suffice for our present purpose. Suffice it to say that Englebert was elected Regent of the Kingdom, and held the position for three years; that he was succeeded in that position by another patriot, Karl Knutson, who was subsequently elected king; that the dynasty of Denmark again came into power in Sweden and held it nominally and sometimes for a brief period actually, during the reign of Christian I. (1448-81) and of Hans or John (1481-1513) who was succeeded by Christian II. in the latter year. From this point the history of the Reformation in Sweden properly begins.

#### VI. *Condition of Sweden during the reigns of Christian I. and John.*

The supremacy of the kings Christian I. and John is

Sweden was rather nominal than real. The real power was exercised by patriotic Swedes for the most part, who were repeatedly at war with Denmark. Under a popular native nobleman, STEN STURÉ, nephew of their former king, KARL KNUTSON, as regent, Sweden enjoyed for some few years comparative peace and prosperity. But in consequence of evils which fell upon the kingdom, for which he was in no degree responsible—such as a succession of bad crops, and the excommunication pronounced against him, because in the interests of the state he withheld the revenues claimed by the Danish Queen dowager—Sturé became unpopular with the fickle and unreasoning people. The king availed himself of this dissatisfaction and the consequent depression of the kingdom, to march an army into Sweden with a view to establish his personal authority. The expedition of King John was successful; and he was crowned in Stockholm on the 25th of November, 1497. Sturé was deposed from the Regency, but became High Chancellor, and was one of the four commissioners to whom the administration of the kingdom was committed, by King John, on his return to Denmark. But on account of the great dissatisfaction with King John's administration, in 1501 Sturé was again placed at the head of the government with the name of Guardian of the Kingdom. This position he held until his death, December 15, 1503. He was succeeded in the same office by his kinsman, Saunto Sturé, whose administration of nine years was an incessant but successful series of wars, in resistance of the efforts of King John to regain supremacy in the kingdom. After his death in 1512, his son, Steno Sturé, was called by the popular voice, rather than by any recognized authority as his successor. His election was subsequently forced upon the council at Stockholm by the popular clamor.

#### VII. *Death of King John and accession of Christian II.*

Christian II, justly known as "the tyrant", succeeded King John, who died in 1513. He immediately opened negotiations with the Guardian and the Council with a view to secure their recognition of his right to the throne of Sweden. Failing in this attempt he excited his partizan, Trollé, the Archbishop, to organize an armed rebellion in his interest against the existing government. The Archbishop was described as one "who never forgave a past wrong, real or fancied." It in no degree disarmed

his hostility that Sture, in order to bring about a reconciliation, had secured his election to the Archbishopric. He stirred up war therefore in the interest of Christian II., who upon the invasion of Sweden, suffered a complete defeat. This battle, as celebrated in Swedish annals as that of Bannockburn in the history of Scotland was fought at Bren-Kirka, July 22. 1518. It was in this battle that Gustavus Vasa first appeared prominently, having occupied the honorable position of standard bearer, and distinguished himself for valor and ability in the field. As the history of the rise of the Reformation in Sweden turns upon that of Gustavus Vasa, and his history is inseparably implicated with that of Christian II. it becomes necessary to give a sketch of the life and character of each.

#### VIII. *Christian II.*

Christian II was the only son of King John and his Queen, Christina of Saxony, and was born in 1481. It is an evidence of the simplicity of the times, and of the country, that in order to provide for their frequent absence from Copenhagen, the King and Queen, instead of leaving him in the palace in the care of their own attendants placed him under the charge of a bookbinder of the City. It may be inferred also that, discerning his imperious, cruel and crafty nature, his parents felt that these evil traits would be more likely to be restrained in a well regulated private home, than in the palace, where his faults would be likely to be flattered and inflamed rather than restrained, by subservient Menials and Courtiers. Hans Metzenheim, the bookbinder was a burgomaster and a counsellor of state, and having no children of their own, he and his wife devoted themselves assiduously to the education of the royal boy. His capacity was very great, and he applied himself well, under constraint, to his studies, and made rapid progress; but his tutor Hinze, a Canon of the Cathedral, dared not trust the wayward boy out of sight, and therefore, always took him to church when on duty there. As the young Prince had a fine voice and a good ear for music, he was made to sing among the choristers at matins and vespers. But when King John was told that the heir of three Kingdoms was singing, and was much admired, in all of the choirs of Copenhagen, he sharply rebuked his tutor for placing his son in a position derog-

atory to his royal dignity. The incident led to a change of tutors. At the request of the King, Joachin of Brandenburg sent him another tutor, Magister Conrad, a man of great learning and force of character, who was able to control his pupil, and succeeded in imbuing him with a love of learning. Christian made great progress and is said at an early age and during all his life "to have written and spoken as well as the most learned University professors of his time." (Otto's Scandinavia, page 214).

But this ready mastery of learning seems in no degree to have softened or refined his character. He was accustomed, after he was domiciled in the palace, to bribe the porter to allow him to go out in the night and join in scenes of revelry and licentiousness. On some occasions, when detected in these *escapades*, the King personally applied a horse-whip to his shoulders. But when he had reached the age of twenty, and this sort of rigid discipline became no longer possible, the King sent him as his Viceroy to govern Norway. He at once put himself in an attitude of hostility to the nobility, and relentlessly crushed out every attempt at resistance or rebellion. He seems from his early boyhood to have hated the nobility, to have had a dislike to their character, habits and manners, quite irrespective of their feelings or relations towards himself. His chosen associates were among the lower classes. His enmity to the nobles, was increased by the restrictions, which they imposed upon his authority at his Coronation.

### IX. *Gustavus Vasa.*

GUSTAVUS VASA, or as he was called before he became king, Gustavus Erickson, was descended from an ancient and noble family. His grandfather was Christopher Nilson, who was appointed a councillor by King Eric. His father was not distinguished in the public service, and though called "a merry and facetious lord," was arraigned before the council in Stockholm for cruelty to his peasants, and made to pledge himself "that he would not thereafter place them in irons or treat them like senseless beasts," when accused of depredations upon his estates, but "would allow them their rights in law." The date of his birth has been fixed on good grounds, on Ascension Day, 1496. Those presages of future greatness which seldom fail to be subsequently recorded, in the case of those who become renowned, were not wanting at his birth. A

crimson cross was marked upon his breast, and the outline of a helmet was seen upon his head. When he was only four years old, King John, during one of his later visits to Sweden saw him playing the part of a king in the midst of a group of children and as the story goes, patted him upon the head, saying "that if he lived he would be a remarkable man." He kept the bright boy in his train while he was in Sweden, and wished to carry him to Denmark. If he had done so the whole history of Northern Europe would have been changed, the Reformation in Sweden perhaps never effected, nor the liberation of Protestantism, mainly due to the heroic Gustavus Adolphus, achieved. But Sten Sturé, suspecting that the king was more bent on securing a hostage than a foster son, sent him to his father, who was then Lord Feudatory of Aland.

Geijer remarks that "all accounts agree that young Gustavus was placed in the Seminary of Upsala, in 1509." "It is known," he continues "that he was placed in the grammar school and was subjected to personal chastisement while there by the Danish schoolmaster. The latter was informed that the young pupil had upon some occasion said, "See what I will do! I will go to Dalecarlia get out the Dalesmen and knock the Danes on the head." Gustavus suffered his school flogging, then drawing his little sword, he thrust it through the curtains with a malison never to return. A hundred years afterwards the country people could point out the places in the neighborhood of Upsala which he had frequented with his playmates, and tell how he had been at a wolf chase hunting merrily." As an indication of the bent of his mind toward religious subjects, it is stated that while he was at Upsala, his chief studies, outside of the curriculum of the school, were canon law and theology. He was also a gifted musician, and while at school made several musical instruments, which are still preserved in the palace of Stockholm.

All accounts agree that he was received and employed in the Court of the Regent' STEN STURE the younger. He was then eighteen years of age, and was placed under the tuition of HEMMING GADD, who had been mathematicus to Pope Alexander III., had written a history of Sweden which was much prized, was a sworn enemy of the Danes and an able politician. With him, no doubt, the young patriot could freely resume his boyish talk of his purpose to rouse up Dalesmen and knock Danes upon the head—a

seemingly wild and empty boast which was subsequently so remarkably fulfilled. The chroniclers of the time speak of him as "a noble youth, comely, ready-witted and prompt in action." He was particularly distinguished, even at that early period, for the persuasive eloquence which was one of the most potent means by which he subsequently acquired such a commanding influence over his countrymen. Even to his extreme old age, when Gustavus met any large body of his countrymen in council, or in a crisis of affairs, they would clamor for a speech from the old man eloquent and receive it with immense applause and insist that there was no orator like him. We shall see how at a momentous crisis of his own fortunes and of those of the Reformation, he consolidated the former and saved the latter by a single speech.

It was after Gustavus had resided at the court three years, that the rising of Archbishop Trollé, in the interest of Christian II., already alluded to, occurred. The Archbishop was besieged in his castle of Stekborg and a Danish reinforcement was sent to his relief. This force was defeated by Gustavus. In the following year, in the famous battle of Brenn-Kirk, between King CHRISTIAN and STEN STURE, in which the king was defeated, Gustavus, as we have seen, bore the banner. But by the treachery of the king, and the misplaced confidence in him of the Regent, this victory resulted in disaster and loss rather than gain. The Danes attempted after the defeat to retreat, but the fleet in which they embarked their shattered forces was detained by contrary winds, and sorely pressed by famine. The king in order to gain time professed a desire to negotiate a peace which should leave Sweden henceforth, unmolested by the Danes. The Regent, feeling that he had the king in his power, and that he could force upon him terms which would secure him and his kingdom in the future, consented to treat with him; and during the negotiations he generously furnished the famishing squadron with beef and other provisions. The king invited him to a personal conference on board his ship; and the unsuspecting Regent would have fallen into the snare thus prepared for him, had not the town council declared that if he went on board they would soon have another Regent, for they were sure he never would return.

Foiled in this base design, the king devised another, equally treacherous, which was completely successful. He

professed his willingness to come on shore provided suitable hostages should be sent to the squadron. Six nobles—including Gustavus and Hemming Gadd—were chosen for this purpose. But the boat in which they were embarked, had not accomplished half its passage to the fleet, when a Danish ship with a hundred men on board captured it, and carried the six hostages to the fleet as prisoners. A favorable breeze springing up took away all hope of rescue. The fleet weighed anchor, the sails were filled, and they were all soon landed on the coast of Denmark. Thus the defeated king, by an act of gross treachery, evaded the promised proposals of peace, provisioned his starving fleet and army from his victorious enemy, and carried into captivity six of the most eminent nobles of the land. But it was a triumph which, by intensifying the patriotic passion of the Swedes, led to an ultimate defeat.

#### X. *The captivity and escape of Gustavus.*

Gustavus had the good fortune to be committed to the care of a kinsman, Baron Eric Baner, Governor of the castle of Kallö, North Jutland, where he spent upwards of a year as a prisoner, and was treated with kindness and allowed a liberty, not usually granted to prisoners of state. But the whole country was ringing with rumors of the great preparations which were in progress for the conquest of Sweden. Christian had imposed new taxes for the prosecution of the war and even extorted from the Papal Legate the sums that had been amassed by the sale of indulgences, which he appropriated on the plea that it was a war in which the interests of the Papacy were involved. Copenhagen was thronged with French, Scotch and English mercenary officers and troops. The young soldiers at the mess of the castle of Kallö talked of the preparations for the conquest of Sweden with exasperating exultation. They boasted that they would soon play with the Swedes "S. Peter's game"—an allusion to the Papal interdict which they hoped to secure, and jestingly and mockingly parceled out among themselves the wealth and beauty of the nation.

How the ardent and patriotic heart of the young Gustavus must have chafed in his captivity! "By such contumelies was Lord Gustavus Ericson seized with anguish beyond measure, so that neither meat nor drink might savor pleasantly to him, even if he had been furnished better

than he was. His sleep was neither quiet nor delectable, for he could think of nothing else than how he might find opportunity to extricate himself from the unjust captivity in which he was held." (Geijer, page 98).

It is not to be wondered at that under such circumstances Gustavus should have persuaded himself that he might without dishonor escape from his captivity. He might well feel that he was called to do so by duty to his country. He was not a prisoner captured in war. He was stolen and consigned to captivity in violation of Royal pledges and of the laws which regulated the warfare of civilized nations. Early in the morning of February 19, he left the castle disguised, according to some as a pilgrim, but according to others as a drover, and traveled on the first day of his escape forty two English miles. He did not reach Lubeck until the last day of September, when he threw himself on the protection of the Burgomaster and Council. As soon as Eric Baner discovered the retreat of Gustavus, he hastened to Lubeck, armed with a letter of the King, and demanded back his prisoner. He complained at the same time that Gustavus had escaped, contrary to his pledged word as a Knight and a Kinsman. Gustavus spoke in his own defence. "I was captured," he said, "contrary to all justice and plighted faith. It is notorious that I went to the King's fleet as a hostage. Let any one who can, point out the place where I was made prisoner in battle, or declare the crime for which I deserve chains. Call me not then a prisoner, but a man seized, unjustly, over-reached and betrayed. Am I not in a free city and before a government renewed for justice and for befriending the persecuted? Shall I be altogether deceived in the confidence I have reposed in them? Or can breach of faith be reasonably objected to me by one who never kept oath or promise? Or can it be wondered at that I should free myself from a prison which I deserved by no fault except that of trusting to a King?"

Gustavus promised to repay to Baner the \$6,000 by which he was pledged to Christian for the security of his prisoner. This promise he was not able at first to fulfil, and subsequently he believed himself exonerated from it by the wrongs which he had endured. He denied also that he had given any pledge to remain at Kallö, or that he was in the position of a prisoner on his parole of honor.

However much or little the shrewd burgesses of Lubeck may have felt the force of this argument, their sympathies



no doubt were enlisted on the side of a fine, spirited young man, the dupe of a faithless tyrant. Moreover, motives of policy happily coincided with those of feeling. Christian, as the undisputed Lord of the three Northern Kingdoms, would possess a power which he might easily employ for the subjection of one of the smallest of the free Hanse towns, which was protected rather by a tradition of its inviolability than by any possession of military power. The Burgomaster urged this view upon his colleagues. "Who knows," said the council, "What Gustavus may do when he gets back to Sweden?" They evidently hoped that he might be an instrument for checking the progress of the King in his native land, and thus prevent him from plotting against their liberties. With this view they refused to deliver Gustavus to the Baron Baner, and determined to send him back to Sweden.

His brief residence in Lubeck exercised a momentous influence on the subsequent career of Gustavus. It was there that he first heard and became interested in the doctrines of the Reformation, and thus became providentially prepared for his great mission—the deliverance of his country from the Papal despotism.

### XI. *The Interdict.*

During the captivity of Gustavus events of the utmost moment had occurred in Sweden. The talk of the young soldiers over their cups in the dinner hall of Kallö, which had so exasperated him and led to his escape, was not all boyish gasconade. The "Game of S. Peter"—the threatened interdict—had been played, and Sweden was soon after successfully invaded by Christian.

The only ground on which the Pope could claim that there was cause for his interference between Christian and the Swedes, was that the latter were in rebellion against their lawful Lord; and that it was his duty to coerce kings to perform their civil duties by spiritual penalties. There was as yet no question of religion involved in the strife. But the once terrible instruments of interdict and excommunication had not lost all their power, and the former was laid upon the kingdom, and the latter was pronounced against the Regent, and against all who had espoused his cause. Pope Leo X. was equally ready to pronounce a blessing or a curse which would replenish his treasury, and enable him to indulge his luxurious tastes. No real

influence appears to have been exerted by these spiritual weapons. That in which the sting of the Papal Bull was contained was the fact that the execution of it was committed to Christian. It was this unusual provision which constituted the plea for the horrible atrocities which he committed when he acquired the possession of the kingdom.

### XII. *Christian's Invasion of Sweden.*

The whole of the year 1519 was spent in making preparations for the invasion. In the beginning of the year 1520 the Danish army broke into Sweden under the General Otho Krumpen. He caused the Papal Ban to be affixed to all the churches on his march. The Regent met the invaders on the ice of the lake of Ascunden in West Gothland. But being wounded in the beginning of the battle, he was carried out of the conflict and his army was defeated. Learning that the victorious Danes were marching upon Stockholm, he caused himself to be carried to the Capital on a sledge, but died upon the ice of lake Mälär when near the city. Every thing was thrown into confusion by this disaster. A few magnates met but did not feel authorized to appoint a successor to the Regency. The country people assembled in various localities to resist the enemy; but without leaders and organization, they were easily dispersed. The heroic widow of the Regent, Christina Gillenstierna, still continued to defend Stockholm. She refused to accede to the agreement which the Swedish barons in a diet had made with Christian, that they would recognize him as king, on condition that he should govern in accordance with the laws of the kingdom and the treaty of Calmar.

### XIII. *Gustavus in Sweden.*

It was while these disasters were occurring in Sweden that Gustavus embarked in a merchant vessel bound to Stockholm, with the purpose of offering his services to the Regent's widow. Unable to penetrate into the city, because it was so closely invested, he steered for Calmar, which still held out against the king. That fortress also was defended by a widow, Ann Bielke, the widow of the former commandant. But so dispirited did he find the burghers of that city, that his appeals to them to make a gallant defense, not only failed to rouse their-courage, but

led to threats against his life. He fled from the city on the day that it was surrendered. From Calmar he proceeded to Småland, among his father's tenants. But even there he was not safe. The province of East Gothland was so filled with Danes, that it was only by continual changes of quarters and disguises that he escaped detection. His appeals to his countrymen to rise and shake off the yoke, were met by a stolid half-despair, which seemed now to have taken possession of all ranks in the kingdom. During the whole summer he glided through by-ways from one place of danger to another, sleeping one night in the woods, and another hidden by brush wood in the open field, disguised and pursued with a price upon his head. In September he appeared without money and with only the tattered clothes which he wore, in the house of his brother-in-law, J. Brahe. In vain he urged Brahe to disobey the summons which he had received to be present at the coronation of Christian at Stockholm, which had then surrendered. The unhappy man, sharing the terror that everywhere prevailed, feared that he would be marked if he should be absent, and set out upon the journey which proved to be, as Gustavus had predicted, his last. His son, in his chronicle of these times, gives his answer to the appeal of Gustavus: "I am specially cited to the coronation," he said, "and if I should remain away what would become of my wife and children? Perhaps ill might come of it to your parents as well as hers, and others of our friends. For you the matter stands quite otherwise, for not many know where you are. It can go no worse with me than with all the Swedish lords who are now gathered about the king." How fatally it went with both him and them we soon shall see!

#### XIV.—*Proceedings of Christian.*

The diet of Swedish Barons held at Upsala had agreed to accept Christian as King, on the explicit condition that he would govern according to the treaty of Calmar and the laws of Sweden. These engagements were personally confirmed by the king upon arriving with his fleet before Stockholm. He added moreover that the measures adopted against Archbishop Trollé, who was now restored to his office, should be forgotten and forgiven. These assurances were again renewed when Hemming Gadd, who had spent his life in passionate opposition to the Danish

claims, now appeared in old age through the depression caused by the seeming hopelessness of further resistance, as their advocate. It was by the weight of his character and the previously known hostility to the Danes, that Christina Gillenstierna was induced to surrender Stockholm, against the remonstrances of the burghers. When the king returned in autumn and was crowned in Stockholm, he once more confirmed, by oath and the reception of the Sacrament, the securities which he had given. And yet at that very moment it is placed beyond all doubt that he had resolved upon the murder of the chief nobles and highest citizens of Sweden. In the proclamation of the council of State, issued after Christian had been dethroned, it is stated that at the coronation, and only three days preceding the massacre of the nobles, he had appeared, full of courtesy and friendliness, to his unsuspecting victims. "He appeared," says that document, "friendly to all and was very merry and pleasant in his demeanor, caressing some with hypocritical kisses, and others with embraces, clapping his hands, and displaying on all hands tokens of affection."

It soon appeared how much had been meant by the threat to play the game of S. Peter in Sweden and by leaving the execution of the Papal power in the hands of the king. Notwithstanding the festivities and courtesies connected with the coronation, some circumstances took place which excited the suspicions of the Swedish nobles. There was a marked omission of all Swedes from the honors which were distributed on that occasion. Many of the Danish officers who had signalized themselves in the invasion of the kingdom, received the honor of knighthood at the hands of the king; but no Swede received any mark of favor beyond empty and hypocritical courtesies and words. The king excused himself for not extending the same honor to the Swedes, on the ground that he had received no aid from them in the recovery of the throne; but he added that by their fidelity in the future, he would be able to confer on them as much favor as he had bestowed on the most distinguished of his Danish officers.

In the midst of these festivities which lasted three days the king held a cabinet council in which the question was discussed as to the penalties which should be inflicted upon those who had resisted his authority by armed rebellion. He observed that the Swedes were exceedingly jealous of their freedom, and that unless they were com-

pletely subdued, they would not long endure a government which from its nature, in order to be effective, must be strict. He proposed to root out, as he had done in Norway the distinguished and noble families, and leave only the commonalty, which without able leaders would soon be brought into submission. He demanded of his Counselors how this might be accomplished with the greatest safety.

Some suggested that a quarrel should be got up between the military and the town's people, and that in the confusion which would ensue, they should take off whom they pleased. But this was dismissed as a hazardous and doubtful scheme. Others suggested that gunpowder should be placed under the castle, and that a charge of treason founded upon this fact should be laid against the nobles. But the counsel of Didric Slaghec (called after this by a slight change of pronunciation *Slag-höch* or *slaughter-hawk*) was that which was finally adopted. He was the King's confessor, a Westphalian by birth, and had once been a barber's assistant. He suggested,—and it was believed, by a previous understanding with the King—that the King now wielded two swords, the temporal and the spiritual, the temporal in his own right and the spiritual upon the express designation of the Pope. The King might forgive offences against himself, but not against the Holy See. His promise of oblivion was therefore to be kept as far as he personally was concerned, but in his capacity as representative of the Church it was not binding. Let him then bring the excommunication into play, and deal with all who had taken part against Archbishop Trollé as heretics. And yet the penalty which the Pope, in whose name this atrocious advice was given, had already pronounced was only that the demolished castle of the Archbishop should be rebuilt, and that compensation for damages should be given, and a pecuniary fine should be levied.

#### XV. "*The blood bath.*"

It was at an entertainment at the castle given by the king that the first act of this awful tragedy, called the *blood bath* in the annals of Sweden, was performed. The Archbishop by previous concert with the king came before the throne, and demanded that Steckborg should be rebuilt, and the authors of his wrongs should be punished. The accusation being pointed against Sten Sturé and his

adherents, Christina Gillenstierna, in justification of her husband, produced the deed which solemnly deposed the Archbishop and decreed the destruction of his castle. This was precisely what the king desired. He immediately declared that he would treat all who had signed it as heretics. They were asked separately whether they acknowledged their signatures, and as they could not deny them, they were all taken into custody, with the exception of two Bishops, who proved that they had signed the document under compulsion. Thus, as subsequently in the case of the marriage festivities of Henry of Navarre, the hall of feasting was suddenly converted into a tribunal for the trial of alleged heretics and rebels.

The prisoners were committed for the night to the tower of the chapel and other parts of the castle. A tribunal, consisting of the Archbishop and several Bishops and nobles was appointed by the king to decide specifically upon the crime of which they were guilty and to assign their punishment. The tribunal declared that the prisoners were manifest heretics, according to the just law of the Holy Church, of the Emperor and of Sweden. The punishment of heresy was death. Resistance to an Archbishop in arms against the constituted authorities of the realm pronounced to be heresy! Nothing could be more absurd! But when a brutal tyrant like Christian is bent on getting rid of enemies one plea is as good as another. In this case no doubt Christian felt that it was better to direct the obloquy which would follow this wholesale murder, upon the church, rather than draw it directly upon himself, by resting it upon the much more plausible ground of treason.

The victims were immediately notified by their appointed executioner of their coming doom. They applied in vain for the last consolations of religion. On the following morning the question was proposed to them whether it was not heresy to confederate and conspire against the most Holy See of Rome. They were constrained to answer that it was, but contended that the punishment of a rebellious Archbishop, could not be construed as conspiracy against the Pope. But their admission was feigned to be a confession of their guilt.

The execution of the nobles took place on November 8, just one week after the coronation. On the morning of that day the inhabitants of Stockholm were forbidden on pain of death to leave their houses, before a signal to be

given by sound of trumpet. The cannons of the castle were loaded and others so placed as to command, the principal streets. A heavy foreboding oppressed the minds of the citizens. When the clock struck twelve the trumpet sounded, and the people were summoned to the great square of the city. The castle gates were soon after opened, the draw-bridge lowered, and the prisoners brought forth. There were Matthias, Bishop of Strengness, Vincentius, Bishop of Skara, and twelve secular nobles, most of them members of the State Council, including Eric Johnasson, the father of Gustavus, Joachim Brahe, whom his brother-in-law, Gustavus, had attempted to dissuade from going to the coronation, the burgomaster and town council of Stockholm, and many burgesses. A Danish knight, Nicholas Lyké addressed the people telling them not to be terrified at what they were about to witness; that the Archbishop had three times on bended knees besought the king that the sentence of death should be executed upon the culprits, and that he had at length yielded to the request; but Bishop Vincentius interrupted him by exclaiming that there was not a word of truth in the statement; that the king could do nothing without lying and treachery, and he prayed God for vengeance on his tyranny. The incident shows the purpose of the king that the obloquy sure to follow this atrocious massacre should fall upon the Archbishop and the Church.

Christian, who beheld these scenes from an open window of the old council house, now gave a sign that the execution should begin. Bishop Matthias was the first victim. He had taken with him to the Coronation his chancellor Olaus Petri and Laurentius Petri his brother, who as the venerable bishop stood with his hands raised up to heaven, awaiting the blow of the executioner, rushed forward to embrace him. Before they could reach the spot his head rolled upon the ground. The two brothers could not restrain their indignation, and loudly proclaimed that it was an inhuman murder of a venerable and blameless man. They were seized and about to share the fate of their beloved Bishop, but were spared when a German who had studied with them at Wittemberg declared that they were not Swedes. These two intrepid brothers became the chief agents of the Swedish Reformation.

Bishop Vincentius was next beheaded, then the lay nobles, then the burgesses. Olaus Magnus who was unaccountably spared says he saw ninety-four persons beheaded,

and expected at each execution to be summoned next. When Eric Johnanson, the father of Gustavus, was led out for execution a messenger from Christian came to him to offer him "pardon, grace and honor;" but the stout old patriot, thinking perhaps of his persecuted and fugitive son, refused to accept life from the blood-stained tyrant and cried out—"No, for God's sake let me die with these honest men, my brethren," and laid his head upon the block. Many were hanged or subjected to other horrible deaths. A contemporary historian, Zeigler, states that Johannes Magnus was crucified with circumstances of revolting cruelty. For three days, as new victims were enticed out of their hiding-places, by promises of pardon and security, the slaughter continued. Some were put to death because they could not restrain their tears at the loss of relatives and friends. No element of horror was absent from this carnival of blood. The retainers of the great nobles who had been executed were dragged from their horses as they attempted to escape from the city, and hanged in such numbers that girths and stirrup leathers, were used as substitutes for halters. A violent rain mingling with blood in the gutters of the streets, tinged everything with the hue of murder. For three days the slaughtered bodies remained in the market place; after which they were carried out to the South suburb of the city and burned. We must resort to the worst scenes of the reign of terror in France, to find a parallel to this brutal slaughter.

Nor were these executions confined to Stockholm. They extended to Finland where Hemming Gadd suffered the just penalty of his defection from the cause to which he had given the best energies of his life, by laying his head upon the block at the age of eighty. The king's whole progress from Stockholm to Denmark was marked by cruel executions. Gibbets were erected in the market places and towns, previous to his arrival. At a monastery where he had ascertained that the abbot had hidden part of his stores in the woods, he ordered him and five monks to be thrown into a stream and drowned. And yet, even while the massacre was in progress in Stockholm, Christian had sent out a proclamation to the provinces, stating that "by the advice of the bishops, prelates, and other wise men, he had punished Sten Sturé's confederates as heretics under the ban of the Church, but that he meant henceforth to govern the country mildly and



peaceably according to the laws of S. Eric." More than six hundred of the highest and best citizens of Sweden had been slaughtered before the king left it in the beginning of the year 1521.

From the "History of the Revolution in Sweden, occasioned by the change in religion and the alteration of the government in that kingdom," by the Abbé Vertot, and translated into English in 1729, I take the following account of the massacre. It is that of a Roman Catholic writer, but of one whose whole narrative shows him to have been honest and dispassionate. His book could scarcely have been satisfactory to the Papists.

After describing the method by which the Bishop of Linköping escaped the massacre he thus continues his narrative: "Then they proceeded to the execution of the lay senators beginning with Eric, the father of Gustavus. The consuls and magistrates of Stockholm and ninety-four lords who were arrested in the castle underwent the same fate. Yet the king instead of being satisfied with the death of so many illustrious persons, was extremely vexed that some lords whom he had particularly inserted in the black roll had escaped his fury. He imagined that they lay concealed in the town, and was so afraid that they would make their escape, and so desirous to arrest Gustavus, who he thought might be hid in some house in the city, that he gave full scope to his vengeance; he resolved to confound the innocent with the guilty, and to expose the town to the fury of the soldiers. As soon as they received those bloody orders, they fell upon the people who had come to be witnesses of that bloody spectacle, and promiscuously murdered all that had the misfortune to be in their way. Afterward they broke into the principal houses under the pretext of searching for Gustavus and the other proscribed lords. The citizens were stabbed in the arms of their shrieking wives, their houses were plundered and the honor of their wives and daughters was exposed to the brutish lust of the soldiers, who by orders, after the example of their inhuman sovereign, strove to out-do each other in the wildest and most extravagant barbarity.

"A certain gentleman of the Swedish nation was so sensibly touched by the moving sight of so many deplorable objects that he could not restrain the impetuosity of his grief, nor behold such scenes of horror without bewailing the misery of his country. The furious king was so enraged

by these marks of compassion, which his guilty conscience interpreted as secret reproaches of his cruelty, that he commanded the unfortunate mourner to be fastened to a gibbet, his privy members were cut off, his belly ripped up and his heart plucked out, as if pity and compassion had been the foulest of crimes. Afterward the king pretending that the commiserator had rendered himself unworthy of Christian burial, by incurring the sentence of excommunication, ordered his body to be taken up and exposed in the public place among the mangled carcasses of his ancient friends. He issued an order that no person should presume to bury any of these bodies on pain of death; and would have suffered them to lie in the open place, as a terrible monument of his vengeance, if the stench and putrefaction had not obliged him to command them to be taken away. But before they were removed he could not forbear going on purpose to take a view of the dismal trophies of his fury. At last he ordered them to be carried out of the city and be burned, that even death itself might not exempt them from a second punishment which he pretended to inflict upon them as excommunicated persons." (Hist. p. 111-12).

An historian of Sweden ends his record of these tragic events in these words: "While these horrors were being enacted a noble youth wandering in the forests of Dalecarlia, fleeing before the emissaries of the tyrant, and hidden from his pursuers, sometimes in a rick of straw and sometimes under fallen trees, or in cellars and mines, was preserved by providence, whose great soul was already meditating the salvation of his country and eventually achieved it by the aid of God and Sweden's commonalty."

#### XVI. *Christian's character and policy.*

Before the story of these wanderings is resumed I pause to say a few words upon the character and policy of King Christian. It is not necessary to say, with the above facts before us, that he was one of the most base, crafty and cruel tyrants of whom history makes mention. But he belongs to a small and peculiar class of tyrants. He was one of those who entertained a deadly hatred of the aristocracy, not only from political jealousy because of their constant attempts to limit his power, and to reach up to his level or to overtop him, but from a coarseness of nature and of manners, though born in the purple, which led him to choose his boon companions, and indulge his licentious

passions among the lower classes. To this class belonged Ivan the Terrible of Russia, and Peter the Great, and I think I may add the first Napoleon. While, therefore, Christian showed himself fierce and cruel to the nobles and the cultivated classes, he was complaisant, in his genial moods, to the common people, and secured the passage of many laws for their welfare and improvement. For, like Peter the Great of Russia, coarse in his tastes and endowed with great abilities, while he labored on the one hand to depress the nobility, he exerted himself on the other to develop the resources of his kingdoms, and to lift the laboring classes to a higher level of intelligence and prosperity. He caused good laws to be passed in favor of the commercial and laboring classes, and was the first king in northern Europe who opened schools for the poor of his dominions. He compelled the burghers of all the large cities in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, under the penalty of heavy fines, to compel their children to learn to read, and write and cipher. He also caused better books than were then in use to be prepared and printed for the public schools. He made the first attempt to establish a post in the country by forming a band of post runners, who, both in winter and summer, passed between Copenhagen and the chief towns of his dominions. Wayside inns were established at certain distances along the road, and the system was established, which still prevails in Norway, by which the local population were obliged to keep the roads in order and to supply relays of horses for travelers. He forbade bishops to burn witches, and to claim the old strand tax, or wreckage of stranded vessels. He put an end to selling peasants with the land. And strange it sounds to hear that the author of the blood bath of Stockholm, was very much interested in the cultivation of flowers and vegetables, and by the advice of his queen sent for and employed Flemish gardeners. He would have proved in all probability a successful tyrant but for that passion of cruelty which led him to outrages too intolerable to remain unavenged, and that elaborate craft which is always short sighted and sure ultimately to entrap its master in the toils which he weaves for others.

#### XVII *The wanderings and dangers of Gustavus.*

After visiting his brother-in-law Joachin Brahe and his sister Margaret, Gustavus repaired to his father's estate of

Ræfness and there lived some time concealed. He made himself known to the old Archbishop Jacob Ulsson, and learned from him that the peasants in Dalecarlia had risen against the government of Christian but had been defeated. The Archbishop advised him to submit to the king, and informed him that his name was included in the amnesty which was proclaimed on the surrender of Stockholm. "Once," says Geijer "after such a conversation, when Jacob Ulfson had employed his eloquence in vain, it happened that an old servant of Joachin Brahe presented himself at the castle of Gripsolm, and rather by sighs and tears than words imparted the first tidings of the massacre at Stockholm." The terrible news was soon confirmed. The Archbishop was dumb from horror and Gustavus prepared for flight.

He left Ræfness on horseback on the 26th of November 1520, accompanied by a single servant who stole off with the saddle-bags, which contained all his effects and money. He chased the servant and secured the saddle-bags, but the thief escaped. When he reached the frontier of Dalecarlia, he assumed the dress of a peasant and served as he had opportunity as a farm laborer. When thus employed with Anders Pehrson, a rich miner at Rankhytta, a maid servant one day caught sight of a gold-embroidered collar beneath his jacket and informed her master of the fact. Looking attentively in his face, Pehrson recognized him as an old school fellow at Upsala ; but while not disposed to betray him, he was unwilling to harbor a refugee so distinguished. The barn at which Gustavus threshed at Rankhytta is preserved as a state monument.\* After breaking through the ice in passing over a ferry and spending the night shivering in a peasant's hut, he presented himself the next day to Arendt Pehrson, who had served under him at Brankyrka, and did not scruple to discover himself to his old companion in arms. But Pehrson's fear of Christian was stronger than his sense of generosity and honor; and though he received Gustavus with seeming cordiality, he resolved to deliver him up to the King's lieutenant in the neighborhood. After Gustavus had retired

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\* King Charles XI. visited this barn in 1684. It is now marked with a monument of porphyry with this inscription: "Here worked as a thresher Gustavus Ericson persued by foes of the realm but selected by providence to be the Savior of the country. His descendant in the sixth generation, Gustavus III. raised this memorial."

for the night Pehrson left the house and returned early in the morning with the King's lieutenant and a body of thirty men to take him prisoner. But Gustavus had escaped through the kindness of Pehrson's wife. Suspecting the treachery of her lord from his absence, she warned her guest of his danger, provided him with a horse and sledge and guide and sent him to the Swedsjö parsonage. For this act she incurred the life-long enmity of her husband and won an honored name in the annals of Sweden. Gustavus remained about a week at the parsonage of Swedsjö and when the worthy pastor could no longer protect him, he sent him secretly to Swen Elfson, a royal forester of great courage and presence of mind, living at Isala. Elfson's wife was no unworthy helpmate of such a husband. Some of the lieutenant's band came in search of her guest one day when she was making bread, and Gustavus was warming himself at the oven. His look indicated some disquiet and might have betrayed him had she not given him a smart blow with the ladle with which she was stirring the bread, and asked him with an expression of impatience whether he had never seen soldiers before, and sent him off to his duties in the barn.\*

When he was obliged to shift his quarters again—the neighborhood being beset with Danish soldiers, and a persistent search made for him—Elfson sent him away hidden under some straw in a light wagon. Some Danish troopers coming up, in lieu of a more formal search, thrust their spears into the straw and wounded Gustavus. The blood began to trickle down on the snow, and would certainly have discovered his hiding place had not the quick-witted Elfson, by giving his horse unobserved a gash in the leg thus diverted attention from the point whence the blood issued.

Having thus eluded the troops by the dexterity of his guide, Gustavus arrived safe at Marness. Here he lay concealed under a large uprooted fir tree, supplied with food by the peasants. From thence he penetrated farther into a forest and took up his abode upon a hill, still called the King's hill, which was surrounded by a morass, and again found a hiding place under an old overturned fir tree. On the green before the Church at Ratvick, his next retreat,

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\* This is the subject of one of the series of frescoes in the Cathedral of Upsala, which commemorates the most striking incidents in the life of Gustavus.

he first publicly addressed the Dalesmen. As this incident leads to his probable reasons for leaving Dalecarlia, and points to the plan which he had devised for rousing his countrymen to resist the tyrant king, it may be well, before following him farther on his perilous adventures, to dwell for a few moments on the probable ground upon which he rested the hope that he might then commence and organize a patriotic crusade, which would ultimately drive the Danes from Sweden.

### XVIII. *Dalecarlia and the Dalesmen.*

Dalecarlia—the land of dales—is a beautiful and fertile region of rich valleys, between high rugged mountains, beneath which lie inexhaustible mines of copper, iron and silver. The portion of it in the midst of which Upsala is situated is for many leagues a fertile and lovely plain, producing abundant crops and sustaining immense herds of cattle. The indefinite term Dalecarlia is applied also to the rugged regions which stretch to the North and the West towards Norway, but historical Dalecarlia, and as it appears in the record of Gustavus, includes the two *Lans* or provinces of Westeras and Upsala, north and west of the province of Stockholm.

It has been already stated that Gustavus was induced to resort to Dalecarlia from his confidence in the independent character of the Dalesmen. But beyond this general confidence in the character of the people, there were historical traditions and advantages which would naturally lead him to hope that his appeal to them to rise and throw off the hated yoke of Christian would not be in vain. It was around Upsala and its immediate neighborhood that all the heroic national traditions, pagan and christian, gathered. Within one Swedish mile of that city was the old Upsala, the seat of the first God-King Odin, with his divine Aste, his council of Gods, with his successors Njord and Freya, also Gods; and there, descended from them, and inheriting the honor due to a divine parentage, reigned the first mortal king, Fiolner. There are the three vast mounds under which the first three kings Odin, Njord, and Freya are believed to be buried, and at the foot of which for many centuries the kings of Sweden pronounced their oaths and received their consecration. It had been the right of the "upper" Swedes, inherited from the days of paganism, to dispose of the crown, a right which after the introduction

of Christianity became the subject of many contests. It had been the custom for the Upland to nominate the king; and after his election and confirmation, the king set out upon his *ericksgeit*, in which he visited all the provinces, and received a formal recognition of him as their rightful lord. After the other provinces had vindicated their right to join in the election, the justiciaries, the authorized representatives of the provinces, gathered on the meadow of Mora, under the shadow of the mound of Odin. The mode of proceeding formally by the authority of the provinces in the election of the king, is thus described by Geijer :

“This assembly was called the Mora Thing. The justiciaries of the provinces were to repair thither, every one attended by twelve discreet and well-skilled men, with the assent of all the resident inhabitants of the circuit. The voices of these deputies and the lawman (justiciary) constituted the vote of the province. The justiciary of Upland voted first and then the rest in their order. Thereupon the king swore to the people on the book, with the holy relics in his hand, the oath embodied in the law, and lifting up his hand promised to God and the people to keep what he had sworn and by no means to break it, but rather to augment it by every good work, and especially by his royal word. In like manner the justiciaries and the people took their oath to the king, and by this were bound both young and old, the living and the yet unborn, the friend and the unfriend, the absent as well as the present. This was called *to swear by or at the Mora stone*; and an old record states that immediately after his election the king was raised upon the stone. It was then incumbent upon the king to ride in the manner before mentioned on his *ericksgeit*, or as it is called in the land law, “to ride round the realm with the sun.”

It was therefore no doubt not only because of the sturdy character of the Dalesmen that Gustavus betook himself to that region, but because he also felt that all the associations, traditions and habits of the people were such as would enable him to fire their hearts with a patriotic passion and ambition to redeem their enslaved country. He could remind them that it was the prerogative of Upland to cast the first vote for the election of the king ; and that Christian had been imposed upon them without the formality of appealing to them for their consent. He could refer to the long train of illustrious kings who had

received their consecration at the Mora stone; and this usurper had entered into Stockholm by force of arms and the slaughter of their countrymen, and sat there upon a throne erected over a pool of the best and noblest blood in Sweden. He might naturally have thought that if he could receive their recognition as the champion whom they selected to commence the work of the redemption of their country, such a designation might wear something of the character, in the eyes of his countrymen, of that old right of Upland to select and elect a king, which the other provinces were merely summoned to sanction, and which would lead to his acceptance by the kingdom as its providentially and historically designated leader and commander. That such thoughts may have cheered and sustained the hunted and heroic fugitive, appears in a high degree probable from the fact that he determined to make his first address to the Dalesmen in the Mora region and near the Mora stone.

#### XIX. *His appeal to the Dalesmen.*

The uprooted fir-tree which furnished his hiding place was not far from the Mora meadow. At a moment when Ratvick seemed to be free from the Danish troops who were tracking him, Gustavus issued from his hiding place and addressed the people on the green before the Church. He bade the old to consider well, and the young to inform themselves, what a dreadful tyranny the Danes had introduced into Sweden; and how much they themselves had suffered and ventured for the cause of their beloved country. He reminded them of the oppression of Erickson, and of the heroic and successful resistance to it of Englebent. And now all Sweden was again under the heel of the tyrant of Denmark, and its noblest blood had been shed by him. His own father "had chosen rather with his associates, the honor-loving nobles, to die than to be spared and survive them." "If they would now save their land from slavery he would put himself at their head, and fight with them for the freedom of the realm." This appeal did not produce the impression which he had hoped for. The full story of Christian's massacre had not yet penetrated the Dales. The peasants of Ratvick did not personally know Gustavus, and his family was not immediately associated with their history. They expressed their sympathy with him, but declined to commit them-



selves to any action until they should have consulted other parishes.

Still less encouraging was the result where he expected it would be the greatest, when he addressed the peasants on the Mora meadow. To a large assembly gathered there he gave a vivid description of the massacre at Stockholm, spoke of his own share in the calamity, and offered himself to be their leader "to avenge the blood that had been spilt, and to teach the tyrant that Swedes must be ruled by law, not ground down by cruelty." We can readily imagine the patriotic ardor with which he must have made such an appeal. But only a few of the peasants were in favor of arming at once; the majority of them advised him to go further into the woods, and informed him that he was sought and tracked by many bands of Danish soldiers. Utterly discouraged by this reception, Gustavus again sought still more distant and lonely hiding places, and at the close of the year crossed the boundary which separates the eastern and western Dales, intending to take refuge in Norway. But soon a reaction took place in the minds of this simple-hearted peasantry. The story of this reaction should be told in no other words than those of Sweden's great historian Geijer. There is a great charm in the beautiful simplicity of the narrative, and a romantic interest in the events, in that humble and narrow sphere, which determined the civil and religious history of Sweden for the ensuing centuries.

"Shortly after Gustavus quitted Rettwick several Swedish nobles of the Danish faction arrived there for the purpose of securing his person. Some peasants who saw them coming in with about a hundred horses on the ice of lake Silian, hastened to the church and rang the bells. The wind blew towards the upper country; a great concourse of people assembled as was their wont on occasions of common peril, and the strangers who had sought refuge partly in the priest's house, and partly in the tower, which long after showed marks of the Dalesmen's arrows, could only ransom their lives by the assurance that they would do no harm to Gustavus.

About the New year there arrived at Mora Lawrence Olaverson, a captain of great experience in the service of Steno Sture the younger; and shortly after a nobleman of Upland named John Michelson. They drew so lively a picture of the massacre of Stockholm that the bystanders were affected to tears. The Ericsgait of the king they

said was at hand; his way would be marked by the gallows and wheel; all the arms of the Swedish peasants would be wrested from them and consumed; and if their limbs were left to them unamputated, a stick in the hand would be the only weapon allowed them in the future; the imposition of an additional tax for the maintenance of the new troops was daily expected. The people murmured and complained that they had allowed Gustavus Erickson to depart. In this their new guests told them they did wrong; such a noble leader they stood much in need of. Many a worthy Swedish warrior was now wandering like themselves, fugitives in the forest who would never submit to the dominion of the Danes, but lead a free life so long as they might, until Sweden should receive from God, a captain and a chief for whom they would cheerfully put to hazard their life and welfare." The Dalecarlians now sent off runners on snow skates to seek out Gustavus day and night and bring him back. They found him in the hamlet of Seln in the upper part of the parish of Lima, whence he intended to seek a pathway across the mountains of Norway.

He returned in their company to Mora where the principal and most influential yeomen of all the parishes in the Eastern and Western dales elected him to be "Lord and chieftain over them and the command of the realm of Sweden." Some scholars who had arrived from Westeras brought with them new accounts of the tyranny of Christian. Gustavus placed these students in the midst of a circle of the peasants to tell their story and answer the questions of the crowd. Old men represented it as a comfortable sign for the people that as often as Gustavus discoursed to them the north wind always blew, which was an old token to them that God would grant them a good success. Sixteen active peasants were appointed to be his body guard; and two hundred young men were called his footgoers. The chronicles reckon his reign from this small beginning; while the Danes and their abettors in Stockholm long after continued to speak of him and his party as a band of robbers in the woods."

It would be interesting, if the limits of this article allowed, to trace the gradual development of this band of peasants into a well-organized army under the skillful hand of Gustavus, and to follow the successive steps by which he gained the confidence and the enthusiastic affection and admiration of his countrymen, and reached a position of commanding influence and power. He at once

displayed all the qualities of a great commander and administrator. In the beginning of February, he marched to the great copper mine, took its superintendent prisoner, seized upon all the king's and the Danish property in the place, and made his first banners from the silks that were captured. Soon after he returned to that place with 1,500 men, and from that time great and rapid accessions to his ranks took place. The king's troops were sent out to meet him, but were beaten and driven back. As Gustavus passed into Westmanland, the people flocked to his standard; and when on S. George's day, the 23rd of April, he organized and reviewed his army, it was found to be 15,000 strong. At this point of his progress, he issued a formal proclamation of war against Christian. In it he declared that Christian had not lawfully been elected king; if he had been, he had forfeited his throne by his atrocious tyranny and his violation of the laws of Sweden; and he proudly referred to the fact that he had never sworn allegiance to him, and that he took up arms against him without violating a plighted faith. This last fact gave him a prodigious influence with his countrymen. They gathered about him under the influence of patriotic passion and personal devotion which enabled him, after two years of varied successes and reverses, to enter Stockholm in triumph on the 21st of June, 1523.

### XX. *The Execution of Slaghec.*

After the massacre of Stockholm and the departure of Christian to Denmark, the Bishops Slaghec and Beldnaké were appointed administrators of the kingdom in his absence. But Slaghec soon left Sweden, having been advanced to the Archbishopric of Lund, the primacy of the Danish Church. But he did not long enjoy the honors of that envied station—the highest to which a Northern Ecclesiastic could be raised. On the first news of the massacre at Stockholm, Johannes Magnus, Canon of Linköping, and afterwards Archbishop of Upsala, had hastened to Rome to demand vengeance against Christian. The execution of two Bishops so aggravated the enormity of that crime in the eyes of the Pope that, though unwilling to strike the king on account of the emperor, he would not refuse enquiry. M. D. Potentia, a Neapolitan monk, was dispatched for the purpose with secret orders to view the matter in a light as favorable as possible for the king;

while Christian, advised of his danger and determined to save himself, resolved to sacrifice Archbishop Slaghec, in order that he might be personally exculpated.

Slaghec had been in possession of his dignity but two months when he was summoned to Copenhagen to answer to the charge of having been the instigator of the massacre. The charge was readily proved. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. On the 22nd of June, 1522, the sentence was executed. The king had left Copenhagen, and given orders that the execution should take place during his absence. The scene of it was the old Market place or Square of the city. A gallows was erected and a pile of faggots heaped up near the Council House, and here in his rich robes, the guilty tool and victim of the guiltier king was conducted. Inasmuch as his was the double crime of treason against the State, and of spiritual treason against the Vicar of Christ, in executing two of his spiritual servants, he was forced up towards the gallows, as if to suffer upon it, and then led to the blazing pile, where, with no sympathy from the crowd, he was burned.

### XXI. *The Proceedings and Dethronement of Christian.*

While Gustavus was making progress in the North, Christian was pursuing those harsh and cruel measures which were well calculated to hasten his overthrow. He had caused the mothers and wives and children of the most distinguished Barons of Stockholm to be conveyed to Denmark. Among these were the mother and the two sisters of Gustavus, whom Christian, in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of his wife, threw into a dungeon. Here they perished, and as it was believed and charged by Gustavus, by violence. Christian also issued an order to his generals and officials to put to death all Swedes of distinction who should fall into their hands. A massacre similar to that at Stockholm, though not on so extensive a scale, only for want of sufficient victims, was by his direction perpetrated at Abo, the capital of Finland.

After leaving Sweden to be thus harried and oppressed, Christian made a visit with much splendor to his brother-in-law, Charles V., in the Netherlands, to secure the dowry of his Queen, and to solicit his aid in a war against Duke Frederic of Holstein. The object which he had in view

seemed definite, but the means which he employed were various and contradictory, and such as would inevitably bring about failure and defeat. He aimed to depress the power of the nobility and clergy; to elevate and gratify and govern through the Burghers and peasants; to destroy the ascendancy of the Hanse towns, and to annex Holstein, and so utterly to crush and terrify Sweden as that it should lie henceforth passive under his sway. But his measures were fitful, incoherent and inconsistent. He seemed mastered by a feverish restlessness, which led him into projects and policies which crossed and nullified each other and led to his ultimate ruin. He made the Papal bull the pretext for his cruelty in Sweden, and yet on his return to Denmark instituted measures for the introduction of the Reformation into that kingdom. He even opened a correspondence with Luther, and invited Carlstadt to Copenhagen; and when investigation into the massacre of Stockholm was threatened, made application to the Pope for the canonization of Scandinavian saints. He raised the infamous Slaghec to the Archbishopric of Lund, and afterward, as we have seen, threw upon him the responsibility of the massacre of Stockholm and consigned him to the stake.

One year after the execution of Slaghec, when Christian was levying a new tax upon the kingdom for the prosecution of the unpopular war against Holstein, the dissatisfaction of the kingdom came to a head, and the nobles in council at Viborg, on the 20th of January, 1523, drew up a deed of renunciation of his authority, and declared that they had chosen Frederic, his uncle, Duke of Holstein, to fill the vacant throne. This act of renunciation enumerated his crimes and his atrocious tyranny, and declared that obedience to his intolerable rule had ceased to be a duty. The craven and abject spirit in which the king pleaded to be allowed a further trial, and threw the blame of his maladministration upon his advisers, and promised the most absolute conformity thereafter to the will of the council, exhibits that cowardly nature which so often leads to cruelty. Although the powerful province of Sealand and the nobles of Scania took an oath of fidelity to the king, he did not dare to trust them, or even to rely upon his army. He collected twenty ships in which he placed the public records, the treasures and the crown jewels and his wife and child. The evil genius of the king, Sigbert, the mother of one of his mistresses, who had either

prompted or approved of all his cruelties, and exercised a most sinister influence over him, was conveyed to a ship in a chest, that she might escape the vengeance of the people, by whom she was vehemently abhorred. Thus ended the dreadful reign of Christian II. in Denmark and Sweden.

It may be well to follow the fortunes of Christian to their wretched end. He first fled to Holland, and remained there several years. In 1531, he landed in Norway with an army of Dutch and Germans, and was well received by the inhabitants. But the treaty made by Frederic with Sweden and Lubeck, enabled him to overthrow the army of Christian and to take him prisoner. Contrary to the pledge of his uncle's commander, who had promised him freedom, Christian was carried to Sonderberg in the lonely island of Als, and thrown into a dark dungeon below the tower. In that wretched prison in which light and air could penetrate only through a small grated window, which served at the same time for the transmission of the scanty food furnished him, Christian spent seventeen years of his life, with a half-witted and deformed Norwegian dwarf for his attendant and sole companion. A striking modern picture of Christian and his companion in prison, in the picture gallery of the palace at Copenhagen, leaves an ineffaceable impression upon the mind of the beholder.

On the death of Frederic I., his son, Christian III., wished that he might be released, on the pledge that he would retire to Germany and make no more efforts to recover the throne. But the Danish nobles were quite unwilling to rely upon his pledges, and all the relief that Christian III. could obtain for him was a removal to the Kallunberg castle, where he was permitted to pass the last ten years of his life in comparative comfort, and where he died in 1559, within a few months of his namesake, Christian III.

## XXII. *Gustavus becomes King.*

After the capture of Westeras and an unsuccessful attack upon Upsala, a convocation of the partizans of Gustavus, which claimed to represent the States of Sweden, took place at Wadstena on the 24th of August, 1521. There were present sixty nobles and many representatives of the Burghers and the clergy. It was here, at a critical crisis of his life, that Gustavus made one of those speeches which turned the doubtful balance of events decidedly in his favor. A brief summary of it has been preserved,

sufficient to suggest how stirring must have been such an appeal, from one whose heroic resistance to the tyrant, and whose romantic adventures and splendid personality must have vividly impressed the hearts and the imaginations of a people whom indignation had rendered ready for self-sacrifice and suffering. He told them that there were but two courses for them to pursue: "If they were content to be forever slaves to the Dane, and to abandon their possessions to the avarice of a greedy neighbor; if they had hearts to see the remaining flower of their nobility cut off, and could endure that Sweden, which had not only supported its own independence, but had given the law to other lands, should degenerate into a Danish province—then, indeed, they had only to sit down quietly and watch the foot-steps of the tyrant. But if they loved freedom—if they would avenge the innocent blood that had run so piteously in their streets—if their houses and possessions were dear to them—if they would prove themselves worthy sons of their renowned fathers, then they would take the sword, and not let it sleep until they had dethroned the tyrant and regained the crown which he had wrested from their hands. Circumstances were most favorable to their enterprise. Christian was hated by his own people, and all his attention was required to secure himself in his hereditary dominions. He—Gustavus—had already, with the help of the Dalesmen, subdued a large portion of the realm, and the chief fortresses were now so hard beset that they could not offer a long resistance. The victory would soon be complete if they would only combine their councils and unite their strength."

The appeal was decisive. The estates immediately offered the crown to Gustavus. "That was the only way," they said, "to repay him for his services, and to save the kingdom." But Gustavus had the prudence and the foresight which made him see that his influence at that stage of his progress would be greater if he declined the crown and accepted a regency, which would in effect be kingship in all but the name. He replied that "he had taken up arms from zeal and compassion for the people. The name of king had already, from the abuse of it, begun to have a hateful sound. They should unite their strength, and first place themselves in a condition to choose a native Swedish king. Then whomsoever they should deem fit for the honor, to him he would show all loyalty and obedience."

From this period the military successes of Gustavus became more decided. After two years of siege, Stockholm surrendered. Just previous to that event (June 7, 1523) a State Council assembled at Strengness, when the newly elected Archbishop, Knut, suggested that it was now necessary to choose a king, since Christian had ceased to be king even of Denmark. All the Council with one voice declared for Gustavus. "He received their congratulations with a grave countenance, thanked his countrymen for their love and confidence, and said that his services did not merit so great a reward, and that he was weary of the burden and anxieties he had already undergone. He begged them to choose one of the old knights and nobles then present, and he would give him his truth and allegiance." Tears and exclamations and remonstrances interrupted his address. It is a curious fact, in connection with the part which he subsequently took and was then prepared to take in the Reformation of Sweden, that he at last consented to accept the crown upon the pressing instances of the Papal Legate.

Frederic I. of Denmark wrote to the estates of Sweden that in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of Calmar, he might be acknowledged King of Sweden. They replied that they had already elected Gustavus Erickson to be Sweden's king. Thus was the union of the treaty of Calmar dissolved, after it had lasted 126 years. Previous to the surrender of Stockholm, the armies of Gustavus had been successful in expelling the Danes from the southern part of Sweden. On midsummer eve, the 21st of June, Gustavus made his entrance into Stockholm. Before the end of the year, Finland was brought into obedience. The country was thus freed from foreign enemies, but it was full of the elements of discord and dissatisfaction. That in the circumstances, under which Gustavus ascended the throne, he was able to maintain his position, to pacify the kingdom, and develop its resources, and above all, that without any popular movement towards the Reformation, he was able to establish it by virtue of his overmastering character and against immense obstacles, without and within his kingdom, justly entitles him to the place which has been assigned him, by all who have studied his career, as one of the greatest men in the whole compass of European history.

C. M. BUTLER.





## THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.\*

**T**H**ERE** is one passage in Mr. INGERSOLL'S article on this subject, in the November number of the *North American Review*, in which I cordially concur :

"In the examination of a great and important question every one should be serene, slow-pulsed and calm. Intelligence is not the foundation of arrogance. Insolence is not logic. Epithets are the arguments of malice."

The article in question seems to assume that the existence of objections to a religion is an unanswerable argument against its truth. This is a common and natural assumption, but is it well-founded?

Take any practical question that a man is called upon to decide for himself, for example the choice of a profession. Is it not true that when the young man just out of college asks himself, "What shall I do?" he finds some objection to any possible course. His final choice rests upon the balancing of the reasons which seem to point in opposite directions. If he is wise, he adopts the course which is supported by the most cogent arguments. He

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\* "The Christian Religion," Robert C. Ingersoll. *North American Review*.

may see the objections clearly, yet the advantages over-balance them.

In considering religious questions, it is especially important to remember that there are objections to every religion. Those against Christianity have been urged with more or less force, and more or less vituperation, ever since the days of Julian. There is no novelty in the objections stated by Mr. INGERSOLL.

Again, his argument seems to rest, in part at least, upon the assumption that it is a serious and, indeed, insurmountable objection to a religion that you cannot explain the reasons for all its doctrines and especially its distinctive tenets. This also is a common and natural assumption. But is it well-founded?

Consider for a moment how little there is in the universe, which we can understand. We believe that the globe on which we stand, and which seems solid and immovable, is moving swiftly through space in a defined path around the sun. Wise men have studied the method of this swift career, and laid down what they call the laws of the earth's motion. That is to say, they have expressed the facts of motion in a formula which they call a law. But who has told us why all this is? Who has gone behind the facts and given us an explanation of the ultimate and original force which impels through space this lifeless mass?

Let us employ another illustration. Take a glass jar, and put into it some crystals of sulphate of copper and a plate of copper. Pour a diluted solution of sulphate of zinc into the jar, and then plunge into this liquid a plate of zinc. All this is inert matter. If you fasten one end of a wire to the copper and the other end to the zinc, a living power develops itself upon the wire. We call it a current of electricity for want of a better name. If you insulate this wire and wind it about a bit of soft iron, immediately the iron becomes a power, and attracts a needle suspended near. Divide the wire, the power ceases. The iron is dead again. Re-connect the wire, and it is alive once more. If the needle be so suspended as to strike a resonant piece of metal, it produces a sound, and these sounds, which are but an unintelligible ticking to the ignorant ear, have a voice and meaning to the instructed, and tell three thousand miles away the story of a Nation's joy or sorrow.

How this can be done is a story full of interest which a hundred pens have told. Why it is, what makes it pos-

sible, what is the mystery of the force, the life, that thus transforms the dead matter, neither Henry nor Ampère, neither Morse nor Wheatstone has even attempted to explain.

Again take a wire. Coil it at each end round a permanent magnet and connect each end with a flexible disc. You speak at one disc, and the disc at the other end also speaks. The manner of its action can be described, but neither Bell nor Edison can explain the reason.

Mr. INGERSOLL finds it hard to understand the miracles which the Evangelists record. They are in one sense hard to understand. But in no other sense than that in which the revolution of the earth in its orbit, or the electric telegraph, or the telephone are hard to understand. In that sense, nobody can understand either. But if you believe that there is an infinitely powerful Being who made the earth and set it in motion and keeps it in motion as easily as the school boy spins his top; if you believe that this same Being has infused this form of life which we call electricity into the dead matter, so that under certain conditions which he has fixed, the iron speaks with all the intonations of the human voice, is it any harder to believe that He could give speech to the tongue of the dumb man, or breathe life into the dead limbs of Lazarus. Would not Cicero or Socrates have been as much surprised at one as at the other?

Again the article referred to seems to put a meaning on the word "belief," very different from that which Christians attach to it. With Mr. INGERSOLL it would apparently mean, intellectual conviction attained by argumentation. With us it means spiritual insight—moral perception. A man may have the clearest intellectual apprehensions of all the doctrines of Christianity and yet not be a Christian.

To be a Christian is to be a follower of Christ; to have that feeling of personal loyalty to Him, which the grenadier had who threw himself between Napoleon and the bursting shell and received in his own body the fragments that would have slain his Emperor. The French soldier did not arrive at this feeling of enthusiastic and self-sacrificing devotion by a process of reasoning. And I never knew a Christian who became such by argumentation.

Why is it, asks Thackeray, that one little hand is dearer to us than all the world beside? When this question is answered by argument, then will be time to answer the

man who asks us to explain by an intellectual process the doctrines of Christianity.

Then why write about them? Simply to remove misconceptions and let our convictions of the truth appear in the true light.

In the dark day of September, 1881, when the sky in Northern New England appeared to be made of yellow glass, the golden-rod became white and the grass and foliage were tinged with a bluish, metallic, arsenical hue. No investigation is possible unless we can see the thing to be investigated as it really is and in the clear white light of truth.

Christianity then is not an intellectual system like the books of Euclid. It is not a combination of propositions which can be demonstrated like the theorems of Geometry. It is a system of living. It cries to all,—

“Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.” It does not say: I will argue with you and satisfy you just how this rest is to take the place of your weary toil. It says: Come and try.

Here is a lock: It is intricate, with innumerable wards. It is on the door that divides this visible world from the invisible. Mr. INGERSOLL says he cannot open it. Christianity says: I do not undertake to explain the lock, or show you why it is on the door. But I have a key that can open it. Will you try the key?

Is there any instance on record of a man who sincerely and humbly tried the method of living that Christ and His Apostles point out to us, who prayed earnestly, who joined with his fellow-disciples in their worship and sacraments, who endeavored daily to make his life as nearly like that of Christ as he could, who found this method a failure? Thousands of men have sought to find Christ in the school of the philosopher, and in the abode of the rich and powerful; and have failed. But He never promised to be found there. It is the old story that LONGFELLOW has put into verse.—The sages despise the humble spring and scatter over the world to find some fount that will manifest itself as the true source of wisdom: They go North and South and East and West, but die without success.

“The shepherds by the mountains dwell,  
And dip their pitchers in the wondrous well.”

But Mr. INGERSOLL says: You speak of prayer. How can it move an immutable God? To which I answer. I do

not know. But that by prayer the soul is brought into communion with God and speaks with Him as a man speaks with his friend, I do know. Thousands of good and true men and women, whose lives are full of kindness and love, assure us that they know this: that it is a part of their experience; as much as the love of children or of wife.

In Mr. EDISON'S laboratory at Menlo Park is a combination of instruments by which four messages can be sent at once over the same wire. It has been discovered that if you put a steel reed which vibrates to the note A, in connection with an electrical circuit and place another similar reed which will vibrate in the same key at the other end of the line, and send a current of electricity over the line alternately breaking and closing the circuit, the two reeds will vibrate in unison. If you put in connection with the same line two other reeds which strike the key B, and transmit the electrical current through them and over the same wire as that which connects the first, the reed tuned to the note A, will respond only to that which is in unison with it, and will remain unaffected by the vibrations of B. In like manner B will not respond to the vibrations of A. When Mr. INGERSOLL will explain to me how it is that these simultaneous impulses of electricity pass over the line without confusion, then I will explain to him why God hears and answers prayer.

Or take another illustration. When telegrams were first transmitted, two wires were employed to complete the circuit of the electric current. Afterwards it was discovered that if the ends of one wire were connected with the earth, the circuit would be completed through the earth, though they might be many miles apart. From the central building of the Western Union Telegraph Company in New York over one hundred of these wires go to ground as it is called. One connects with a wire over ground to Boston, another to Albany, another to Chicago, another to Washington, and the circuit of each is completed through the trackless earth without the interference of one with the other. What is more wonderful still, twenty wires for Boston enter the earth side by side. Each may be constantly in use, but the impulses transmitted over the one do not interfere with those transmitted over the other. Yet no man has made a pathway for the viewless current. No man is wise enough to explain the wonderful phenomenon. We believe it on testimony, but is there any miracle

more unlike our preconceived ideas of the operation of natural laws?

There is one part of the Christian scheme which Mr. INGERSOLL finds even more difficult to credit than its miracles. "It is impossible," he says, "for a finite man to commit a crime deserving infinite punishment. \* \* \* The idea of hell was born of ignorance, brutality, fear, cowardice, and revenge." To him it is the "most cruel, heartless and absurd of all dogmas."

It is not needful that we should defend much of the mediæval imagery with which this doctrine has been clothed, any more than it is needful to vindicate Styx and Phlegethon and the boat of Charon.

It is easy to mock at all these figures. But there is one sentence in Mr. INGERSOLL'S paper which expresses the truth that in all nations and religions has found form in some teaching respecting future rewards and punishments. "From every good act good consequences flow, and from every bad act there are only evil results." This is but saying in another form what every thoughtful moralist has said since the world began.

Goethe tells us: "*Alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden,*" and we know too well that every sin in its own nature brings moral deterioration. It stamps the wax of man's nature with its own evil imprint and nothing but a more powerful motive can melt and efface the stamp.

Now consider, that at least half the suffering that the good experience in this life is from their unavoidable intercourse with the bad. The mother's bitterest pang is in the wrongdoing of her son. Every man who seeks to relieve the woes of his fellow men, finds an evil spirit working against him and baffling him at every turn.

On the other hand, the most evil are hindered and checked by the example of the good; by the force of association; by the usages of society.

But a separation between good and evil is involved in the idea of a future life. The good there will be freed from the struggle with their evil companions. The evil there will be left to themselves, unchecked by the influences of the good. Imagine that all the evil minded in some great city, the selfish, the greedy, the oppressors of the poor, the robbers, the assassins, were transported to a distant island and left to themselves. That would be hell. And no law that we know, no experience derived in this life would lead us to think, that in this nest of every

unclean and hateful bird there would ever be a reformation. It might come by a miracle, as it came to Saul the persecutor. But we are dealing with a man who does not believe in miracles, and who admits, that from "every bad act there are only evil results." If a man's life is habitually bad, if, when he dies, he is a selfish, greedy, grasping man, or a brutal, cruel man, what is there that would lead us to think he will change after death? If he is not changed, and is left to the company of those who are like himself, there is an endless punishment, because there is endless sin. The bad acts, constantly recurring, produce evil results forevermore.

No one has ever stated this more forcibly than Bishop BUTLER:

"When one has been recollecting the proper proofs of a future state of rewards and punishments, nothing, methinks, can give one so sensible an apprehension of the latter, or representation of it to the mind, as observing that after the many disregarded checks, admonitions and warnings that people meet with in the ways of vice and folly, and extravagance,—warnings from their very nature; from the examples of others; from the lesser inconveniences which they bring upon themselves; from the instructions of wise and virtuous men; after these have been long despised, scorned, ridiculed, after the chief bad consequences, temporal consequences, of their follies have been delayed for a great while; at length they break in irresistibly like an armed force, repentance is too late to relieve and can serve only to aggravate their distress, the case has become desperate, and poverty and sickness, remorse and anguish, infamy and death,—the effects of their own doings, overwhelm them beyond possibility of remedy or escape. This is an account of what is, in fact, the general constitution of nature."

The fallacy that underlies the whole article so far as it relates to this subject is this: It seems to be thought that Christianity teaches, that God keeps a sort of debit and credit account with every man. When he dies, it is balanced; if there be a surplus on the right side, a paradise of joy awaits him; if a surplus on the wrong side, a house of torment. No doubt some people think so. But this is not the teaching of the Master. He deals with character. It is not so much the outward acts as the motives and purposes that He weighs in His balance. He welcomed the publicans and sinners. His keenest rebukes



were for the rich, respectable and hypocritical Pharisees. His apostle tells us :

“If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His.”

Where then is the morality of Christianity? Even Mr. INGERSOLL concedes us this. The distinctive characteristic of Christianity is its power to vitalize morality; to give to the words “thou shalt” and “thou shalt not”, force and efficiency. Mr. INGERSOLL sees a contradiction between salvation by faith and salvation by works. But there is none; each is involved in the other. Faith in Christ is not intellectual assent to any proposition. It is loving loyalty to Him. The man who has it is like a thrifty, vigorous vine. It must from its nature bear fruit. And he does not fashion his day's activity by a consideration of the consequences which Mr. INGERSOLL thinks, “determine the quality of an action.” He does not say: Is this particular thing commanded or that forbidden? Shall I be punished for this, or rewarded for that? But, with a heart full of love, he tries to do his utmost to give expression to that love by constant acts of kindness and of courageous warfare with evil.

It is the supernatural aid which Christ gives to His followers that makes this possible. That inspired the activity of Howard, of Mrs. Fry, of S. Vincent de Paul.

Mr. INGERSOLL does not believe in it, because he has not felt it, and because its existence cannot be proved to him like a proposition in Euclid. So a man with no ear for music might dispute the existence of the harmony which stirs the souls of the lovers of music as the leaves of the forest are stirred by the unseen wind. So the man who has no eye for beauty in color and form passes with indifference the paintings of Raphael and Titian. So the selfish, heartless man scorns the idea of love. Each faculty has its appropriate objects. The eye cannot hear. The ear cannot see. The heart that has never warmed with the love of Christ, cannot appreciate His teaching or His supernatural attributes.

No doubt in all ages there have been many who professed to be Christians who were unworthy the name. No doubt all that Mr. INGERSOLL says of the cruelty and crime of many who were nominally Christian rulers and priests is true. We may blush that it is so. But he admits that this was because “the teachings of Jesus were forgotten.” And let it be remembered that if there had been no mar-

tyrs, there would have been no persecutors, and that there were some faithful souls who through the power which Christ gave them were pure in the midst of impurity, and holy and humble in the midst of pride and grasping selfishness.

Doubtless Mr. INGERSOLL thinks it impossible that the three should have walked unscorched in the midst of the burning, fiery furnace. But when he remembers the power of evil example, the difficulty of rowing against an ever-flowing stream, may he not think that the purity of the few holy souls who illuminate the darkness of the times he has so graphically described, is as wonderful.

It is this power which distinguishes Christianity from all other religions; Moses was not the first to say: Thou shalt not steal. Christ was not the first who said: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But what Confucius and Gautama and Socrates could not do, Christ did. They taught a law, in many respects just and wise. They also found it easy to prescribe a system of outward observances which their disciples could see and to which they could conform. In opposition to their moral law, there arose a law of sin in those that heard them, and the breast of the man who tried to keep himself pure was torn by a warfare in which he could not hope for conquest and seldom for peace. Their word did not come with the power which was needful to overcome the evil passions of his nature.

Christ came into the world with power. To every soul that with earnest love strives to follow Him, He gives the power to become a Son of God. This is what His Apostle claims for Him. When He stood by the well and said to the Samaritan woman:

"Whoso drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whoso drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life," he claimed it for Himself.

The pure and humble; the lovers of their fellow-men; the benefactors of mankind who in all these centuries have believed in Christ, affirm that the claim is just, and that this supernatural power, working from without upon their hearts and consciences, has enabled them to do whatever good they have done. They affirm that when they have listened to its voice it has helped them; and that all their mistakes and failures and sins arose from their forgetfulness of the warnings of

this spirit of Christ. Their testimony is to a matter within their own consciousness. It is to a fact of which they are as sure as they are that the impressions on the retina of the eye represent truly the facts of external nature. The man of science has no right to disregard this united testimony because he thinks its truth *a priori* improbable. Reasoning *a priori* is always dangerous, and often fallacious. The true scientific spirit accepts the truth however unlikely it may at first appear. It was a hard thing for the believers in the old Ptolemaic astronomy to believe that the earth revolved round the sun. It seemed to contradict the testimony of their senses. It was at variance with all their preconceived ideas. Nevertheless, the truth made its way at last, and when men will stop thinking that they can see with their ears and hear with their eyes and understand spiritual truths by their intellects, and will modestly try to get at the real facts of the case, they will find the entrance to the kingdom of Heaven a great deal easier than it now appears.

It is only when we become like little children, and are as ready as they to learn the truth, that we can enter either the kingdom of science or the kingdom of Christ.

Bacon took the aphorism from the Master and taught it to the sciolists of his day. He became the leader in the modern school of scientific enquiry. We must recur to his humility and to that of a greater than he, before we can appreciate religious truth.

One request to Mr. INGERSOLL and I have done. I would say to him :

You doubtless respect the memory of your Father. You could not patiently hear it reviled. To many Christians the name of their Father in Heaven, the God of the Bible whom you try to assail, is as dear—yes, dearer—than that of your Father can be to you. We do not read the Bible as you do. We find in it no such pictures as those you think you see in its pages. Forbear, therefore, to employ the epithets which you yourself call “the arguments of malice.” If you feel bound in conscience to strive to rob us of our comfort here and our hope hereafter, do it with decency, with temperance, and if you be indeed a lover of your kind, as you aver, do it with pain and regret.

EVERETT P. WHEELER.

## RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND ITS BEARING UPON AMERICA.

**T**HE age in which we live has been well named one of "loud discussion and weak conviction." In nothing, perhaps, does this appellation seem more applicable than in the manner in which the hackneyed and yet ever most interesting subject of education is treated. Every one has his "hobby" about it, and we are at times bewildered by the conflict of opinions in which those who ought to be in accord are constantly engaged. America seems to be especially selected as a kind of duelling ground by educational antagonists. Now, as in duelling it is no proof of a man's honor should he succeed in killing his opponent, the result being one simply of skill and nerve, so in the success attending one educational system rather than another it is very frequently owing more to the shrewdness and determination of its advocates, than to its own inherent superiority. Thus it is that we have a great deal of "loud discussion," accompanied, I fear, in many instances, with but "weak conviction."

Our country is too young yet for any one system to have taken very deep root. Many of our efforts and plans must, of necessity, be merely tentative. Visionary enthusiasts on this account have a more patient hearing than would otherwise be accorded them, and clever demagogues

the more readily ingratiate themselves into the public confidence. Men yield their conscientious convictions and withhold their enlightened judgment before some brilliant scheme or some popular cry. In the meantime, our children are growing up in various kinds of schools and colleges, and themselves are forming opinions on the subject which they in turn will transmit to the next generation.

While therefore some of us are in doubt as to what is best in this direction, and are too much swayed by that which is for the time being uppermost, our children are daily receiving *some* sort of bias, and our nation is gradually being moulded into theories and practices which, if wrong, will be only with great difficulty changed or eradicated. It is on this account that it becomes us to avail ourselves, if possible, of the experience in this matter of other and older nations; and I think I need hardly enter into an argument to show that no country will be so likely to afford us the help which we need as England.—Germany may contribute, and not a little, to the general fund; but for the supply of the great bulk of our wants, for that which shall in general be best adapted to our present and prospective condition educationally, we must resort to our mother-land.

For gathering this instruction from England the present is an especially propitious time, for there never was, perhaps, a period in its history when educational topics were so prominently investigated and discussed. And this means something in a land which has still in existence a university which was founded a thousand years ago and other schools that are five hundred years old. It is, too, just about ten years since the Act of Parliament came into force by which Board Schools\* were established, and their establishment marks a distinct era in the history of this subject. Many here have availed themselves of the present opportunity for reviewing this whole question, particularly in its religious aspect. In writing this article, I am able to refer to a number of important statistics and conclusions growing out of this review, and have had the privilege of consulting those upon whose information and judgment I can implicitly rely.

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\* These answer to what we should call Public or Common Schools. The old English Public Schools are, as we shall have occasion to remark further on, of an entirely different class.

The present educational zeal of England is not by any means, as already intimated, a modern idea. The majority of its Great Public Schools, as well as of the colleges constituting the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also most of the Endowed Grammar Schools, owe their existence and efficiency to the munificence of private individuals, some of them to public subscription. Many of them were established at or soon after the Reformation, to supply the void caused by the dissolution of the monasteries. Since that period additional gifts for reviving such as at times and for a season languished or fell into decay, and for extending their usefulness, have been received by these ancient foundations, and numerous other schools of various grades have likewise arisen as the necessities of the age seemed to demand.

As the duty and importance of educating the lower and poorer classes became more evident, schools for their benefit began to be established; at first by private beneficence, afterwards under the auspices of organized societies. Many of the parochial schools throughout the country had their origin from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (founded in 1698) which declared its first object to be "to promote and encourage the erection of charity schools in all parts of England and Wales." Subsequently, its field of operation was enlarged so as to include the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. At the close of its first semi-centennial, 2,000 Charity Schools had been put into operation, mainly through its instrumentality. This particular part of its work assumed such proportions, however, that it was finally thought best to found a distinct organization for its prosecution. Thus in 1811 the National Society came into being, "to promote the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales." The parent society still continues by liberal grants of money and by its various excellent publications to render valuable help in the cause of popular education.

In the year 1814, the British and Foreign School Society was founded on the principle of avoiding the teaching of doctrines peculiar to the various denominations, but having as a fundamental rule that instruction be given in the Sacred Scriptures, and that it should include the generally accepted truths of the Gospel. In 1840, the Wesleyan Education Committee was formed, and in 1847 the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee,

charged with the duty especially of educating their own children.

It will be readily seen from this brief statement how rapidly the intention to afford schooling to the children of the masses was carried out, and how common was the feeling of those concerned in the movement that, as in the higher grades of schools and colleges, so in the lower ones, Christianity should form a part of the regular instruction, and even that the tenets of the leading religious denominations should be systematically and frequently taught.

Down to the year 1870, the management of these Elementary or Primary\* Schools had been exclusively in the hands of the various religious bodies of the country,† who were zealous, according to, if not beyond, the measure of the times, in promoting their welfare. They had, previous to this date, to overcome many deep-seated prejudices against the diffusion of education among the laboring classes, and the hard work of laying principles had to be done. After a time, the State, becoming ashamed of its tardy assistance in this great work, made an annual grant towards the establishment of new schools. It was not, however, until after several Select Committees had made reports to Parliament on the subject, and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham's first Education Bill had been matured, that the first grant (of £20,000) was, in the year 1832, allowed. The year 1839, when the Education Department was established, marked a new stage in the development of popular education. From that time to the year 1870, the State worked in concert with the Church in the advancement of religious as well as secular teaching, its grants of money having been in the meantime largely increased. These grants, by a minute adopted in 1860, were not to exceed either the amount locally raised, or 2s. 6d. per square foot of school-room, or 25s. per child, or £25 for a teacher's house.

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\* This term Elementary or Primary is understood to designate those schools which are attended by the children of the poorer and laboring classes, and in some places by those of tradespeople, as distinguished from those which are intended for the middle and higher classes of society.

† More than two-thirds of them, perhaps, were under the auspices of the Church.

Public attention became more and more directed to this great subject, and numerous additional reports of Select Committees and of Royal Commissions were made to Parliament, and bills introduced bearing upon it. Jealousy of the Church's progress and influence, joined to an antipathy to any public recognition and support of Christianity, led to a combination of many Nonconformists and Secularists, having for its object the entire separation of the State from all concern in the religious instruction of children in the Elementary Schools.—Some would-be reformers demanded that the time devoted to such instruction should be given to some of the higher branches of general literature or science (as to this point, we shall have something to say in another part of this article), and others desired that the children should grow up and form for themselves in after years their own religious "opinions."

There had not been wanting men in the Church of England who were noting these "signs of the times," who foresaw how, for a season at least, these notions in specious guises might gain possession of such legislators as had "weak convictions." These from time to time spake out boldly their "strong" convictions, and gave warning of coming calamities. As I write, I have by me a copy of a work written by the late Rev. William Sewell, M.A., which when published in 1841 created a profound impression amongst serious minds, and which deserves to be much better known than, I fear, it is by Churchmen of the present generation.\* It is entitled "Christian Morals," and is the result of the best thought of a most thorough Christian scholar. Alluding to those who think of education as an easy thing, he says (p. 35), "The education of man is beyond the reach of man. He knows nothing, and can know nothing of the secret fluctuations of the mind ;

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\* It will, I am sure, be gratifying to many American Churchmen to learn that his sister, Miss Elizabeth M. Sewell, so long and favorably known to them, first by her "Amy Herbert" and other such works, and subsequently by her earnest writings and labors in the cause of the religious education of women, is still successfully engaged in these labors at her charming home in the Isle of Wight.

Her last volume, entitled, "Note-Book of an Elderly Lady," is a particularly valuable contribution to the discussion of questions relating to the *education*—not simply the *instruction*—of young women. Her "Principles of Education" should be carefully read by every mother who has girls to bring up.



and without knowing these, how can he control or turn them to his purpose?" And further on he proceeds to argue that without the Church man *has no right* to educate his fellows; that education without the Church is, indeed, an absurdity (pp. 37-41). The main object of his whole treatise is to restore the connection so long severed between the science of Ethics and the Catholic Christianity of the Church, and to prove that education belongs of a right and of very necessity to God.

To the same purport the late Dean Hook (who in Coventry and Leeds had such ample opportunities for observing the religionless aim of many educational agitators) wrote in his sermon on *Christian Training*, "If you educate your children without any religious principles, irreligious for the most part they will grow up; if you give them some, but not those fixed, religious principles, they will grow up men and women moved about with every vain wind of doctrine, running now to this sect then to that, with, perhaps, religious emotions, but without real, steady, consistent religious conduct."\*

As showing the efforts of legislators belonging to the House of Lords to thwart the radical propositions made in the House of Commons, it is a satisfaction to be able to refer to the able and comprehensive Report of the Duke of Newcastle's Commission, in 1861. After pointing out as arguments in favor of the voluntary or denominational system of schools: 1st, that it is in possession of the ground, having many thousands of schools in different parts of the country; 2d, that it has succeeded, as shown by its schools, training-colleges, teachers, pupil-teachers, etc.; 3d, that it secures the services of good managers, who have displayed a zeal and philanthropy which are neither polemical nor unhealthy; 4th, that it produces good feeling and is not proselytizing, the Report goes on to say (p. 310):

"We think also that the existing plan is the only one by which it would be possible to secure the religious character of popular education. It is unnecessary for us to enter upon proof that this is desirable in itself. It is enough for our purpose to say that there is strong evidence that it is the deliberate opinion of the great majority of persons in this country that it is desirable. Some evidence has already been given upon this subject of the feelings of

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\* "Sermons on Various Subjects," p. 202, pub. 1844.

the parents of the children to be educated. Those of the nation at large are proved by the fact, that with hardly an exception every endowment for purposes of education, from the universities to the smallest village school, has been connected by its founder with some religious body. . . . The controversies which have occurred in the course of the last twenty years, the difficulties which they have shown in the way of the establishment of any comprehensive system, and their practical result in the establishment of the denominational training colleges and elementary schools, appear to us to place beyond doubt the conclusion that the great body of the population are determined that religion and education must be closely connected, and we do not think that any other principle than that which is the base of the present system would secure the result."\*

The late Bishop Wilberforce, both Prelate and Statesman, exerted his powerful influence against the tendency to supersede religious training. In a sermon on "The Insufficiency of Bare Intellectual Enlightenment" preached in S. Paul's Cathedral, 1849, he said, "It is by the upgrowth amongst us of multitudes whom God's truth has never reached, that our social security is threatened. Man without God's restraining grace, and the light of Christ's truth is, and soon will show himself to be, fiercer, craftier, and more selfish than the beasts of the wilderness. Amongst such, how is society possible? Our hope as a nation is in our Christianity, for an earnest, definite faith in the word, work, grace, cross, and Person of Christ. Let His Church, according to her mission, set these plainly before the eyes of our people; and amid the shaking of the nations, we all, endeavoring as we are, may yet of God's mercy be preserved."\* And again in a sermon preached in 1847, but not published until 1854, after showing the great disadvantages of giving to people a mere

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\* Mr. J. Stuart Mill says deliberately, "It is beyond the power of schools to educate morally or religiously. . . . The only really effective religious education is the parental, that of home and childhood." But taking the world as it *actually is*, and knowing, as we do, how many parents and homes are incompetent (sometimes, it may be, only unwilling) to give a proper education to their children, are we to leave them uncared for in our schools? Regard for their own welfare and for the safety of the community will at once prompt us to supply there the aid which they can not or do not obtain elsewhere.

† "Words of Counsel," p. 117.

smattering of knowledge without any deep and real training, he proceeds to contrast with this the effect of the Church's training, and says, "She only, therefore, can truly raise the tone of society; and that not because her system is better than other human systems, but because it is God's system, and God works with it—because the Holy Spirit deigns thus to work upon the hearts of men, giving high principles, forming holy habits in its various members, and so making a people truly great, and in the end truly prosperous upon the earth; and that for this single reason, that the kingdoms of this world are *not* committed to Satan, but that God is yet the ruler of His own earth."\*

These extracts will prove that the Church was not dumb during this period of discussion; and yet, notwithstanding all her efforts, the Education Act of 1870 was passed, by which it was provided that all Parliamentary building grants should, within a specified period, cease, and also that grants should not be made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects. It provided, further, for the compulsory formation of a School Board for the metropolis, and gave power to the inhabitants of boroughs, parishes or districts to elect a School Board with the necessary authority (subject to the approval of the Education Department) to raise money to an unlimited extent on the security of the rates of public taxes, to build, furnish, and maintain public elementary schools in all districts not having sufficient and efficient school accommodation, to pay or remit school-fees, etc., etc. Voluntary schools are still allowed to be instructed in religious knowledge at their own expense, but by what is known as "the conscience clause" any parent has the right, if he so desires, to withdraw his child from such instruction. This religious instruction in Board Schools must be of a limited character, since it is enacted that "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught." In a letter recently received by the writer from Canon Gregory—one of the stoutest and ablest champions in England of Church Schools—he says, in allusion to this very provision, that the State-aided, or, rather, rate-supported system of elementary education may have a religious flavor imparted to it, but at best it must teach Christianity

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\* *Idem*, p. 91.

in solution, without creed or catechism, dogma or doctrine."

Prebendary Ottey, Diocesan Inspector for London, well remarks, in his report this year to the National Society, "Church Schools can do what Board Schools cannot do: while they give a fully equal secular education,\* they give a far more complete religious one; and besides giving it in the only *scientific* way, viz., through formularies, they give it on the far better and only true *principle* that the religious and secular are inseparable in education, and that Christian life must be the basis of the child's whole training."

And although it rather anticipates a part of my argument to go into this question now, yet, perhaps, we can just as well inquire at this juncture, to what extent the Board Schools fulfil the expectations of their friends in regard to the religious instruction which they are supposed to give. In doing so, I must notice another and a very important point. In these schools (*elementary* ones, it is to be remembered) there are on the schedule a number of what are called "specific subjects," such as Domestic Economy, Animal Physiology, Latin, French, German, Botany, and English literature.† For presenting pupils with an apparent knowledge of these things, a school is entitled to an additional Government grant, which is at times to the pecuniary advantage of the teacher. No such monetary benefit attaches to proficiency in religious knowledge. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if this knowledge be in some instances slighted for the other, and that the time which should have been given to the one be devoted to the other. The temptation in this respect is not entirely wanting in Church Schools. How much more likely, however, is it to pervade the Board Schools.

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\* This important fact has been brought out very distinctly in a large number of recent reports.

† When we reflect that a child's school life in England among the laboring classes is comprised between the ages of five and thirteen (practically less than twelve) this is rather a formidable scheme. In the opinion of many, the harm done to elementary education by the teaching of these "specific subjects" is greater than the benefit possibly accruing to a few individual scholars who may be capable of learning them. In too many instances, the teachers themselves have but a superficial acquaintance with them. Instruction in such cases becomes mere cram, and brings about mortifying failures. The Board Schools are not alone guilty in this respect.

Canon Hopkins at the recent meeting of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury presented a most admirable report from a large and influential Committee "on the best means of securing that the children of this country be educated in the principles of the Church of England." In this report, reference is made to the inefficiency of religious instruction in the Board Schools: "The absence of a definite Creed or Catechism equally binding upon managers and teachers, and commanding the deepest and most loving allegiance of both, explains much of the languor which steals over those who are compelled to teach religion without a Creed. The craving for a religion without a theology exists, as is well known; but a teacher who is set to teach such a religion meets with the same kind of embarrassment as he would do if he were required to teach dynamics without any reference to the laws of motion or of matter; or to give instruction about plants without botany; or about the heavenly bodies without astronomy. Some teaching, no doubt, would be possible, but progress must be lame and halting. A strange feeling of bewilderment would also from time to time come over a school manager whose duty it is to see that the teacher must never remove his intellectual bandages, and never presume to move forward if by chance they should break asunder!"\*

Very pertinent, too, are the comments of the Committee on the operation of the *Conscience Clause*:

"It is too often assumed that by excluding religion from elementary schools, satisfaction could be given to every conscience, and that all strife about creeds and dogmas would cease. Nothing can be more baseless nor more contradictory to facts, than this assumption. It takes for granted that conscience exercises itself only upon negations. By being forbidden the use of creeds and formularies, teachers may be *prevented* from doing anything which others may object to, and conscientiously object to. But this is all. A system of negations can never *enable* teachers to *do* what all religious parents wish them to do, and which such parents think the most important part of education. A parent who conscientiously wishes his child to be brought up in a definite faith, cannot be satisfied with a school, in which all definite teaching is forbidden. If such parent be poor, and if the State

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\* p. 26.

directly or indirectly closes every school which provides the teaching which he desires, and which others are willing to provide, the State *does that parent a grievous wrong*. This is the weak point of the School Board system. In attempting to avoid the folly of trying to please every body, it falls into the danger of doing a wrong to a great majority of the English people. Whilst, therefore, it may be better on the whole to provide schools for those who are indifferent about religion rather than to leave them to grow up in ignorance, it cannot be right to ignore the earnest desires of those who wish to obtain a definite religious training for their children. The "living child" ought not to be murdered in order to satisfy the selfish craving for equality of the mother of the dead child. Yet something like this would be done if voluntary schools were starved out, and no parent could obtain a definite religious education for his child even if he wished it ever so much.

It is easy to secure for a parent "perfect liberty" to withdraw his child from any religious teaching to which he may object. This was one of the objects of the Act of 1870. But it was also desired to secure to school managers in denominational schools "perfect liberty" to teach, in all its essentials and in all its integrity, the faith which they hold, and which is in itself the true bond of cohesion which renders possible their united action.

So far as experience teaches (and in this matter mere theory is of little value,) the voluntary system is the only practical means of giving effect to this second, but not less important, object of the Act.\*

With such convictions as these, it is not surprising that the Committee should say further on, "the very life and being of religious teaching is to a great extent bound up with the continuance and maintenance of the voluntary schools" (p. 23). Many educators have expressed a similar opinion, basing it upon facts which have come to light within their own personal observation. The religious instruction, limited though it be, now given in the Board Schools depends to a considerable extent upon the stimulus furnished by the Voluntary Schools.† It is on this account, that a still greater responsibility is felt to lie upon the Church to sustain the voluntary schools in the

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\* pp. 16—17.

† See Report of the National Society for 1880, p. 12.

evident rivalry between them and the others. In the beginning they were not looked upon as rivals. When introducing the Act of 1870 into Parliament, Mr. Forster said, "We must take care not to destroy in building up—not to destroy the existing system in introducing a new one. In solving this problem there must be, consistently with the attainment of our object, the least possible expenditure of money, the utmost endeavor not to injure existing and efficient schools, and the most careful absence of encouragement to parents to neglect their children. \* \* \* \* \* Our object is to complete the voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the coöperation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbors."—*Hansard*, vol. cxcix, p. 443. And at a subsequent period Mr. Gladstone, in a speech delivered to his constituents at Greenwich, said, "The first object of all was to make education universal and effective.† In doing this, we sought to turn to account for that purpose the vast machinery of education already existing in the country, which has been devised and mainly provided by the Christian philanthropy and voluntary action of the people."

It is much to be regretted that these gentlemen have not been able to restrain their followers, for it is notorious in England that in not a few instances the chief object in establishing Board Schools has been to break down the Voluntary Schools. The former have been built in very close proximity to the latter (these latter having ample accommodation for the neighborhood), and, when opened, have received children at greatly reduced school fees. In Norwich, the School Board has been for years trying to obtain the sanction of the Education Department† to give an education free or at a nominal fee, mainly in order to shut up the voluntary schools throughout the city. In London, too, the Board hold out strong inducements to

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\* Half of the money since spent in erecting buildings for Board Schools and maintaining them where they were not really necessary, would, if given to the existing schools, have insured all that Mr. Gladstone and his ministry could have desired.

† So far as I have been able to learn, the action of the Education Department is uniformly impartial. Mr. Mundella, the vice-president of the Privy Council, has lately spoken of the voluntary schools as forming an essential part of the educational system of the country.

parents to withdraw their children from voluntary schools by a large reduction in fees; a reduction, it is to be noted, only made possible by a corresponding increase in the compulsory public rate.

Now, taking all these disadvantages into consideration, it was natural enough that persons interested in the cause of religious education should await with great anxiety the result of the first ten years' experience since the passing of the Education Act. The facts as developed, after a very thorough investigation of the subject, are most gratifying and encouraging to such persons. For them, I am chiefly indebted to the Convocation Report already mentioned, the Reports of the National Society, and the Educational Almanac for 1881, as also to a valuable paper by Canon Hopkins on "The Losses and Gains of Religious Education 1870-80." From these we learn that in 1870 the number of children in average attendance at *all* inspected schools was 1,152,589. In 1880, the number of children in average attendance in the Church of England inspected schools *alone* was 1,471,615; the difference in favor of the latter being 319,026. If we go by the numbers on the registers, we find that the Church has in her schools 2,079,510, while the number in the other voluntary schools is 730,434, and in the Board Schools 1,085,880, there having been an increase in the Church Schools during the year 1880 alone of 45,020. In the ten years, their increase has been 600,000. The two systems have been working side by side, and while the School Board, with their practically unlimited resources, have created accommodation for 1,082,634 children, Christian zeal and liberality, unaided by taxes, have in exactly the same period provided accommodations for 1,279,535. So that to-day three-fourths of the elementary education of the children of the poor is given in schools where definite Christian religious teaching may be had. In addition to these schools, which are under Government inspection\*

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\* The advantages of being under Government inspection are (1) the right to a grant from the public funds, (2) the right to give "labor certificates" *i.e.*, certificates by which a child under thirteen years of age may be allowed to work during school hours. For this grant, the Government claims the right (1) to inspect the schools at any time, (2) to regulate the amount of time and place in the schedule given to religious instruction, (3) to excuse children from this instruction whose parents may not wish them to have it; a privilege, however, of which very few parents ever avail themselves.



there are others, (although not numerous,) some of which are under the auspices of the Church, where a useful education is given under the voluntary system.

As to the financial aspect of the review, in the Church Schools the income from the endowment has increased from £43,655 in 1871 to £122,727 in 1880. In other religious bodies, a like advance has been made. This is irrespective of what is raised annually for extending the system, building new schools or enlarging old ones. For the support of their Schools, Churchmen raised last year voluntary contributions to the amount of £587,273; a sum of which they surely need not be ashamed.\* The other religious bodies contributed to this same object £151,882. Now, against this aggregate income from voluntary contributions of £739,154, the public rates furnished in aid of Board Schools £726,225. When it is remembered that the larger number of pupils belong to the voluntary schools, it will be seen at once that the schools are conducted much more economically than the Board Schools, the average expenditure of the former being for each scholar per annum about £1 14s. od., while that of the latter is about £2 2s. od. These figures, too, do not include the cost of administration of School Boards, and the repayment and interest of loans, which have also to be provided for by school-rates. With these charges added, their average would be £3 10s. od., or *nearly double* that of the voluntary schools.† In not a few instances, Nonconformists support by a voluntary rate the Church schools, rather than have the greater expense, and the less definite religious instruction of the Board Schools.

Nor is this economy in the maintenance of Church Schools sacrificed to efficiency. They will in this respect compare very favorably with any others.—And as to the religious education given in them, having made a particular inquiry into this matter and consulted the returns of

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\* I might here note that the expenses of the Church Schools are met (1) from endowments, (2) offertories and donations, (3) the children's fees, (4) Government grant. The children's fees vary from 2d. to 9d. per week, according to the supposed ability of the parents. In 1879 to 1880, those paid by the parents of the children attending Church Schools amounted to £729,627, in addition, the Guardians of the poor paid £13,552. The Government grant averages about 16s. per annum for each scholar.

† Educational Almanac, pp. 28-9.

a large number of persons whose business it has been to examine the schools in this department, I have been rejoiced to notice how uniformly they report that it is better given and more definite than in times past. Indeed, I have myself been surprised in visiting some of these schools, to learn how many of the children can answer correctly and fully questions which in America we would generally put only to what we call our Bible Classes.— This improvement in religious studies has had, as before remarked, a good influence in the Board Schools. In alluding to this matter, while presiding recently at the annual meeting of the National Society, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, "This is a hopeful sign. In fact, I do not know that there is now any one place in England, where the people would be inclined to maintain that secular instruction, without religious teaching, is the best form of education for the country. Even Birmingham, where some such view prevailed, has, I believe, made a great change since last year, and its School Board has introduced the Bible in its schools. \* \* \* Thank God, if we polled the country to-morrow, we should find fathers and mothers in favor of that religious education which gives their children a governing principle of life." \*

One of the most striking facts in this connection is the growing readiness in many Board Schools to welcome in religious subjects the Diocesan Inspection which the Church has so wisely set up. The Bishop of Carlisle lately stated that requests for such inspection were so numerous in his diocese that it was necessary to provide assistance for the usual officials. "This is," as remarks "The Guardian" (June 29th) "at once a curious commentary on the supposed 'religious difficulty' and an acknowledgment of the Church of England as practically the great representative of English Christianity. We are more convinced than ever that the Church has only to keep by sacrifice the position which by past sacrifices in the cause she has won; and that the result will show the reality of the influence, in many points unequalled in Christendom, which she exercises over the national life. Let her simply devote herself to maintain, through religious education, "the Kingdom of God and His righteousness," and "all other things will be added unto her."

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\* "The School Guardian" p. 398.

A very great help in maintaining the efficiency of her own Elementary Schools, and in bettering the Board Schools, is found in the Training Colleges, (located in various dioceses) where, for the most part, the future teachers receive a thorough and careful preparation for their arduous profession. During the year 1880, the Church Colleges had 2,179 students in attendance, there being only 933 in all the other colleges combined. Their graduates must fail sadly in reaping the advantages offered them if in the schools, to which they go, they are not well grounded in religious instruction. As these colleges will, doubtless, before long be the objects of attacks from the Secularists, it becomes those who have charge of them to strengthen them more and more at every point.

Beside the Elementary Schools, there are the High Schools and Grammar Schools, patronized chiefly by the middle classes; the Great Public Schools (such as Eton and Harrow), for the children of the upper classes, where these may be fitted for the next and highest grade of all the educational institutions, viz., the Universities.

These all have been made to feel to a greater or less extent the influence of the movement officially sanctioned for the separation of definite religious teaching from secular instruction. The same tendency is seen in them to dis sever the connection between Church and State which manifests itself in other directions, and the action of Parliament is sought in furtherance of schemes which but a few years ago would have been considered quite revolutionary. In the April number of the English *Church Quarterly Review*, an article appeared, entitled, "Recent Fortunes of the Church in Oxford," which, from the fact of its being supposed to emanate from the pen of Canon Liddon, has attracted even more attention than its own intrinsic ability would have elicited. It was intended to warn the people of England against the danger to Christianity which the author thinks is involved in the proposed alterations of the University Statutes, especially in such as would diminish the number of clerical masterships, fellowships, and scholarships. Dean Burgon also, in his recent sermon on "The Disestablishment of Religion in Oxford," shows the perils with which this great seat of learning is now surrounded because of the efforts to disturb its ancient religious foundations.

While I am inclined to believe from what I have learned of the general prevalence of religious sentiment in England (evidence of which is plentifully supplied by what I have been enabled to say in regard to the Elementary Schools), that the attacks upon Religion of which these writers are so much in dread, are attacks not so much upon Religion *per se* as upon the Church of England as such, yet one cannot but feel that their effect upon Christianity will be most injurious. The very fact of their being joined in by Nonconformists and Secularists alike is a lamentable commentary upon the evils of existing divisions among those who profess a common faith, and upon the readiness with which the enemies of all faith avail themselves of such divisions.

We have seen how zealously and liberally the Church is laboring to preserve religious instruction in the Elementary Schools, in those which are intended mainly for the children of the lower classes.—She is none the less vigilant in providing such instruction in the schools frequented by the children of the middle and upper classes. The very attempts made to secularize these schools have only aroused the devotion of Churchmen the more, and it is most gratifying to note the largeness and variety of measures adopted to thwart these attempts. In connection with schools for the middle class, Canon Woodard's operations, amongst others which I have not space to mention, have been most efficient, and have drawn to themselves a most generous support. New ones of this description are arising in different parts of the country, which, if they do not restrain the older ones from retrograding into religionless institutions, will at least be prepared to fill the gap which such retrogression would create.

And as to the Great Public Schools, while some contend that a little more religious influence there would do them no harm, and others that in this respect there is noticeable a decided improvement over former times, it cannot but be that these ancient foundations will be thoroughly sustained by the sentiment of the vast majority of English parents. The Hon. J. G. Talbot, M.P., in speaking lately at Oxford on this very subject, said that he "felt certain that the masters of the ancient public schools need have no fear of outraging the feelings of the most susceptible parent by giving more definite instruction in the principles of the Church, and the true interpretation of Holy Scripture."

New schools of this description, too, are being established, where especial pains are taken to secure beyond any likelihood of misadventure that they shall always be conducted under the auspices of the Church. At the recent opening of new and larger buildings for one of these modern schools—S. Edward's, at Oxford—the Warden of Keble College said that in insisting upon religious education in such an institution "they were but continuing the traditions of English life, and carrying on what Englishmen had always regarded as a natural and easy thing." And again, "All educators who were worthy of the name had followed some great ideal; and what ideal was so grand as the Christian Faith and the Christian Church?" On the same occasion, Canon Liddon, in illustrating the danger of searching after mere information and of mere intellectual training, recalled to his hearers an incident in the history of Rome. When Hannibal was threatening that city and its prospects seemed very gloomy, such was the pluck of its inhabitants that they actually fitted out an expedition and sent it to lay siege to Saguntum, which lay right in the rear of the enemy. "So," he continued, "at a time when the Church might lose her hold upon the Universities, it was delightful to see Christian men arising and doing what they could immediately in the rear of the foe, to make up for their loss in the hope that a future still remained for the Church, even where for the present she seemed to be defeated."

I have quoted from an address by the Warden of Keble College at Oxford. This college owes its foundation to the desire to have one where the best University education could be secured on a more economical basis than that of the majority of the other colleges, as also to a determination to have its religious character inalienably assured to it than seems now to have been done to them. It is very gratifying to know how thoroughly successful it has been, not only in attracting pupils, until now it has one of the largest rolls of any, but also in establishing for itself already a name and reputation second to none. More recently, indeed during the past summer, the foundation-stone of a similar institution for Cambridge, Selwyn College (a memorial of the late Bishop of Lichfield), was laid amid the happiest auguries. "The first object," I quote from a statement of the Master-elect, "the definite Church purpose and tone of the college would, of course, not have been a 'distinctive feature' a few years ago. But

the course of events has made it impossible for any of the old colleges to maintain a general and uniform system of religious teaching and discipline. The admission within their walls of students of any creed and denomination cannot but tend to hinder these older foundations from giving definite Church character to the education they provide. Selwyn College will start free from any such hindrance. . . . I am confident that with the blessing of God it will supply a real want and will be a strength to the Church and to the country, by maintaining the old connection between religion and the highest secular education, and by witnessing to and enforcing the necessity of plain living and high thinking in days of luxury and self-indulgence." On this same occasion, the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle expressed their belief that there is to-day in the Universities a better moral tone among the young men than in the beginning of the present century, and that while it became Churchmen to guard against any and every contingency of religion being separated from intellectual training, there was no ground for despair or gloomy forebodings. And yet it cannot be doubted that this better moral tone is very largely owing, under God, to the new impetus given to the spiritual forces of faith and love of right, through the withdrawal of the artificial support of the law. If it does damage to the weak, it also braces strength and kindles sincerity and enthusiasm.\*

But in addition to these fresh ventures at the seats of the great Universities, whose benefits are intended both for those who purpose taking Holy Orders and for those who do not, it has been thought well, in view of the wave of secularization which appears to be sweeping over the land, that the Diocesan College should supplement the general liberal education of the University for those who are to be the Church's clergy. Accordingly of late years a number of dioceses have either received or enlarged their old Theological Colleges, or have established new ones. Witness, for example, what has been done in Oxford, Lincoln, Lichfield, Salisbury, Gloucester, Truro; and more recently in Ely, whose substantial and beautiful new buildings (to the cost of which the Bishop has contributed over £25,000) were opened in June, under the brightest auspices. In his contribution to the volume of *Essays on Cathedrals*, Dr. Westcott says, "A school of theology at the diocesan centre is the natural complement

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\* "The Guardian," June 8th, 1881.

of the theological school of the University,"—"not in any way to supersede the Universities, or to serve as a place of refuge to men who have neglected to use the opportunities they offer, but to attract young graduates who need some special instruction, pastoral and literary, to supplement that they have already received; especially in dogmatics, that part of theological science often so strangely neglected."

To this same purport writes the present Bishop of Truro, who as Chancellor of Lincoln was so efficient in reviving the teaching functions of the cathedrals. In his *Cathedral*, Dr. Benson writes, "The Universities, with their libraries, their professorships, their traditions, must ever be the centre of theological science so called, but they cannot succeed in giving clerical training to more than a select few; while for those they do train there must always remain subjects of importance, such as dogmatic and pastoral divinity, still to be acquired, for which the cathedral schools offer the fairest, the safest, and most natural openings; while beautiful and glorious associations dignify the work."

Nor are women neglected by the Church in her new schemes for promoting the more thorough Christian character of her schools. In the Church of England High Schools for Girls, many women are being trained, "who," in the language of a recent letter of Mr. Holland, chairman of such a school, "shall be fitted by their attainments to take part in the stirring intellectual life of the day, but fitted also to leaven it by their pure moral and religious characters, and to oppose to the suggestions of scepticism a sound defence of Catholic truth." To meet, too, the wants of a large number of young women who may wish to go on to the higher branches of study, Canon Barry, the Principal of King's College, London, has lately proposed the erection of a building in connection with this admirable institution where women may receive this higher education, where "religious truth may be the leading and inspiring influence of the whole system." At a meeting held at the close of last June, to promote this valuable scheme, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, "If it is a good thing for a young man to be well trained in religious principles, I presume nobody will say that it is a bad thing for young women to be so trained—the future mothers of the generation that is to come in our place—and I for one think that if they

cease to be religious there will be a woeful prospect for the British nation."

The Marquis of Salisbury—the successor of Lord Beaconsfield as Leader of the House of Lords—said on the same occasion, "If you look not merely to this country, but look at other countries in the world, you must be deeply sensible of the truth that, in every generation the religious convictions of women are a main-stay of the continuance of the Christian religion, because it lies in their hands to mould the early impressions of the men and women of the next generation. Therefore it is a matter of no slight importance that the higher education of woman, if it is to be promoted, should be promoted in that spirit which all, or many of us, are anxious should pervade all efforts for promoting education in this country.

\* \* \* \* \* As a practical question, the merits of this matter have passed the stage of argument. There is no doubt that the women in this generation, or at least many of them, will be educated somehow, and therefore the question which those who look to the future have to deal with is this,—In what form shall that education be imparted? We ask you to place a valuable cause in thoroughly tried and trustworthy hands." The Earl of Carnarvon, in the course of a most admirable speech at the same time in alluding to the old problem which agitated the Greek world as to the *status* and education of women, remarked, "There are some who think to solve that problem by simply cutting the Gordian knot and eliminating all religion whatever from the education of women. Some do it because they are alarmed at the difficulties of what is called denominational religion in our days. Others, again, attempt so to solve this question, because they repeat the cuckoo cry of secular education, and believe that education can be given without the wholesome teaching of religion. And therefore it is, I imagine, that many distrust, as my noble friend has pointed out, the high education which it is now proposed to give to women in so many places, when they see it, on the one hand, divorced from religion, and, on the other hand, associated with strange, wild, extravagant theories. Such, my lord, however, is not the view which we take at this meeting; such is not the principle or the system upon which King's College has uniformly proceeded. King's College has adopted, as the Archbishop has told us, the principles of Church of England teaching. But over



and above that, we have to look at it, I think, in this point of view. My noble friend said, very truly, that this question had now passed the stage of argument; and that is exactly the fact, as I understand it. You must have education; it is no question whether you will dispense with it or not. You have gone too far on that road to turn back or to hesitate. Education, in all its branches, is thrown open to women, and is being adopted by them. You have your local examinations; you have the teaching, the instruction of the great Universities, which has been diffused all through the country. You have the medical schools thrown open; and you have, lastly, the instruction of the young confided to women. From all these points of view, therefore, it is no open question, whether you will have education for women or not. It is there; it is at our doors; it is in the midst of us; it is affecting us in our nearest and dearest home relations; and the only question we have to ask ourselves is this—Of what sort and kind shall that education be? Ladies and gentlemen, I believe that there can be, for us at all events, but one single answer, and that any education which ignores the teaching of religion is an education which, I will not say is baneful, but, at all events, is not the education that we desire to see women receive. And, let me add this further, that if from the difficulties of the case you give up that element of religion, you give up, as it seems to me, the whole question of education, you surrender the battle ingloriously and ignominiously, you confess yourselves beaten, whilst you still have in your possession the strongest and the most powerful weapons."

I must now pass on, in the short space still remaining to me, to apply what I have written to our needs in America. In what has gone before, I have endeavored to give a faithful representation of the present state of the Educational Question in England. Tracing the gradual growth of parochial and other schools, and recognizing their foundation and maintenance to have been due mainly to private benevolence, I have aimed to show the origin of the present separation in many of them of religious from secular learning. Despite the warnings given of this impending change, now that it has come, we have seen how vigorously the Church has set herself to work to withstand any further development of this revolutionary spirit. Her efforts are meeting with great success. The religious sentiment of the nation has been effectively

aroused, and in every grade and kind of school and college there are offered to the rising generation opportunities for acquiring a truly Christian education. The danger of a merely intellectual training is being so clearly set forth, that we may with good reason hope that the next age of teachers will see the whole educational system of England placed on a basis which all men will acknowledge to be the best, both for time and eternity.

I have said in the beginning of my article that America would do well to look to England for instruction on this vital point. Since writing that, I have read in the *English Church Quarterly Review* a paper, entitled, "The Failure of the Common School System in America," this failure being alleged chiefly from opinions expressed by American writers themselves. As long as such language as this proceeds from such a source and is published abroad, it will hardly answer for us to hold up our system for England's imitation: "There is probably not one of those various social contrivances, political engines, or modes of common action, called institutions, which are regarded as characteristic of the United States, if not peculiar to them, in which the people of this country have placed more confidence or felt greater pride than its public school system. There is not one of them so unworthy of either confidence or pride; not one which has failed so completely to accomplish the end for which it was established. And the case is worse than that of mere failure; for the result has been deplorable, and threatens to be disastrous."\*

The English reviewer writes, "American education fails because it takes a false view of man's nature, with which it has to deal. It assumes that it is as much inclined to good as to evil; that it is as easily led into the paths of virtue, and purity, and honor, and integrity, as it is into those of vice, and selfishness, and dishonesty; and that it only needs to be taught which path it should prefer to secure that those whom it instructs should walk along it. When all experience shows how false such a view is, it were strange, indeed, if American education resulted otherwise than it has done."† Further on, in warning English Churchmen of the danger of moving in this direction, the same writer continues, "For the last few years our system of education in England has been drifting in the direction of that which is current in the United States,

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\* North American Review, December, 1880, p. 537.

† Church Quarterly Review, July, 1881, p. 512.

though happily as yet it is *longo intervallo*. But still what has been done in that direction is sufficient to prove that from the same cause we must expect the same results. Happily, as yet we have definite religious instruction in the larger portion of our schools, and this prevents the elementary education of the country becoming so completely secular as it is in America, and as we believe that it would already have become amongst ourselves if the denominational schools had been destroyed. Moreover, higher Education in England is not yet divorced from religion, though we fear that at our universities the severance is rapidly widening.\*

Unwelcome as such a picture of our American school system may be, yet it were foolish to deny that there is in it too much ground for humiliation and evil foreboding. One great difficulty in our country is the too common absorption in other affairs of those who ought to give heed to this most important business. The consequence is that it is left in many instances to those who are thoroughly incompetent, in not a few to those who are corrupt as well as foolish. What wonder, therefore, if, while parents are concerning themselves about other things, their children should grow up ignorant and vicious. Of many an one it is true, I fear, as was said of Herod by Augustus that it were better to be his swine than his son; or as Archbishop Tillotson put it, "It is better to be some men's dogs, or hawks, or horses, than their children, for they take a greater care to breed and train up these to their several ends and uses than to breed up their children for eternal happiness."

The great remedy, so far as the Church is concerned, for the evils of which the most charitable or the most careless amongst us must be aware, is, undoubtedly, the establishment and efficient maintenance of parish schools, and of other schools and colleges, where, under her auspices, a sound religious education may be given, accompanied by a thorough secular instruction in necessary secular branches. Indeed, with all the activity of the Church and the liberality of her members in other directions, it is cause for wonder that so little, comparatively speaking, has been accomplished in what is confessedly foundation-work. Parish after parish, town after town, even many cities, can be named, where no such schools exist, and

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\* *Idem*, p. 513.

where the only positive instruction given to the children is confined to the brief, and, in numerous instances, ill-managed session of the Sunday School. And in the parishes where such schools do exist, how illiberally oftentimes are they supported, how little interest in them is taken by the congregation, nay even by the wardens and vestrymen! Too often those not belonging to the Church manifest more sympathy for them, and do more to support them, than our own members.

When well conducted they are of incalculable benefit. They give life to the Sunday Schools, and in the general work of the parish it is found that those who have been under this daily training are the most willing and the most competent helpers. Their influence, too, upon the public schools is always wholesome, and it is in some localities very considerable. To this same influence is due not infrequently the little recognition of religion which may belong to their administration.\* Their graduates are in not a few cases the leaven that leavens the lump of scholars in our colleges and universities. In the opportunity they afford the clergy of becoming acquainted with the children of his congregation, and of ridding them of the dread which the young too often feel of their pastors, and of dismissing from the minds of sectarians prejudices against the Church, and in many instances, of receiving them into her fold, the parish schools perform a work which I do not hesitate to say cannot be in any other way as well accomplished.

And as fulfilling the mission of making children realize that Religion is to be a part of their daily life, to be mixed with their ordinary pursuits and occupations, directing, brightening, and sanctifying all their thoughts, and words, and deeds, the maintenance of such schools is most surely an obligation resting upon all of Christ's disciples. To mingle Religion in this way with our children's daily lives is not of necessity to cast a gloom upon them, nor unduly bind them. Of old, Xantippus caused the pictures of Joy and Gladness to be set round about his school, to signify that the business of education ought to be made pleasurable. I too, would have our religious schools places where the child is taught the happi-

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\* In one of our Western cities, I know of an instance where but for the existence of a flourishing Parish School the Bible would have been excluded from all the Public Schools.

ness, the real delight that comes from doing everything in the fear of the Lord, where with sobriety and consistency there should be such merry-heartedness and liberty as can only come from an acknowledgment of the Christian verities and the practice of the Christian virtues.

I am well acquainted with the many excuses given by Churchmen generally for not making these schools more plentiful and more effective—the hardship of having to pay for the maintenance of two systems at once, the necessity in a free Republic of all classes attending the one school, etc.,—but when conscientiously considered and compared with the greater advantages which they possess, they do seem to me to be so flimsy and short-sighted as to cause one to believe that a little money or a little political preferment is allowed to outweigh the present welfare of the individual and the ultimate gain of the community. If men desire a *practical* education given their children, what, I would ask, is more to the point than one whereby they are taught their duty to God and their neighbors? A parishioner who, although attending Church services, was not really a Churchman, once complained to me that instead of being taught how to be honest, industrious, sober, and the like, his children were taught the Catechism. I asked him if he had ever read there our duty to our neighbors. He had not, but after hearing it he was frank enough to say that it covered the ground completely and he would never speak slightly again of the Catechism. This is but one out of many instances in every pastor's experience of ignorance concerning the true value of the Church's training and discipline as bearing directly upon our every-day life.

She is very particular not to admit into her fellowship any child not properly provided with sponsors. Has not the time more than fully arrived when she ought to exact the further guarantee that he shall be educated in a Christian school? Does not the history of the subject in England instruct us most distinctly as to our duty and privilege, as well as warn us against the evils with which we are surrounded? \*

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\* There is in England on the part of earnest educators a very eager interest felt in the cause of American Education. In a letter lately received from the Rev. Stephen Hawtrej, M.A., for many years a Master at Eton and now at the head of a very successful school at Windsor, he says, "When I read of the policy and feeling of European nations, how I long that generous-minded America and we might be

Why cannot we have some organization answering to its National Society, whose chief object shall be to establish parish schools where they do not exist, and to strengthen such as may from any cause be weak? Such a society well-officered would in its operations be of inestimable worth in America throughout each successive generation. Without it in England, many parishes would be given up wholly to secularists which are now fighting manfully for the Faith of our Common Lord.

But inasmuch as in many places such schools as we are now advocating do not, and for years may not, exist, is it not the part of wisdom for the clergy to interest themselves personally in those which do exist within their cures? While letting the community know that they consider it the duty of the Church to educate her children, and embracing every opportunity for furthering such work, yet they may with entire consistency do what lies in their power to improve the condition of our common schools. If he be possessed of average tact, and have his heart in the matter, there is hardly any district, I imagine, where he will not be gladly welcomed, and where he may not do a good work among the scholars. Should his visits be coldly received and his well-meant endeavors thwarted, an additional argument would be furnished him for establishing a school where his position would be unequivocally recognized.

I am quite aware that I have but barely touched upon the arguments that may be advanced in favor of religious schools, but I fear to trespass any longer upon my already indulgent readers. I give but one more quotation to fortify my position. It is from one of the most profound theologians of the present century, Canon Mozley, who says, "You may indeed offer an education without a religious creed, and you may offer all the material of knowledge, but without a creed you have not the natural recipient of education. Religion gives the power of receiving education, it provides that seriousness and weight in the young mind which knows how to lay hold of the resources to the enjoyment of which it is admitted."\*

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more and more drawn together; and of this I am convinced, that nothing will draw us together as the adoption in America of our best systems of English Public School Education, extended, as I advocate, (with judgment) to Primary Education."

\* University Sermons, 2d ed., p. 301.

Since writing the above, the American Republic has been made to feel, in the lamented death of President Garfield, the bitter effects of that spirit of lawlessness which in other parts of the world also has of recent years manifested itself so audaciously. Surely, in view of such deplorable events and their easily-traced causes, we must see the more clearly the necessity of giving to our children and our neighbors' children the benefits of a positive and thorough Christian education. In meditating over our own grievous affliction, and over similar ones which have either befallen or threatened other nations, one cannot but recall the solemn and instructive language used by the present Emperor of Germany on hearing of the assassination of the late Czar of Russia, which language, as coming not from a theologian but from Europe's oldest sovereign, will carry with some minds all the greater weight: "If we do not change the direction of our policy, if we do not think seriously of giving sound instruction to youth, *if we do not give the first place to religion*, if we only pretend to govern by expedients from day to day, our thrones will be overturned and society will become a prey to the most terrible events. We have no more time to lose, and it will be a great misfortune if all the Governments do not come to an accord in this salutary work of repression."—Who will not pray for the speedy advent of such international accord?

LEIGHTON COLEMAN.

ISLE OF WIGHT, September, 1881.

**“BY WHAT LAWS THE AMERICAN CHURCH IS GOVERNED, AND HEREIN CHIEFLY, HOW FAR, IF AT ALL, ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL LAW IS OF FORCE, AS SUCH IN THIS CHURCH.”**

**G**ENTLEMEN of high standing in the Church, whose wishes I do not feel at liberty to ignore, having requested that my views be given in respect to some of the positions assumed in an article by Mr. BURGWIN, entitled as above, and published in the last July number of the AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, the present paper has been prepared, and is now submitted.

Mr. BURGWIN first states three codes of Law to which he conceives “this and every other National Church is subject,” “as probably questioned by very few,” namely: “first, the Holy Scriptures or Divine Law;” “second, that of the Catholic Church, whose definitions of Faith and Doctrine, and whose Canons and with established usages, when, in their nature and intention, enforceable and appropriate always and everywhere;” “and, third, those laws which any National Church shall have prescribed for its own government;” and then he proceeds to indicate what Law, according to his judgment, is *not* in force in the American Church,—an elaborate and skillful argument being made “to establish the position that *no* part of the English Ecclesiastical Law is, or ever has been, as such, of binding obligation in this National Church of ours.”



In passing, I may be permitted to dissent from the limitation suggested in the quotation as to the Catholic Law, "to which this and every other National Church is subject," as being only such "Canons and established usages" as are "in their nature and intention *enforceable* and appropriate always and everywhere." It does not matter in this regard whether the Law is "*enforceable*" or not; it is *the Law* all the same. And it is manifest from what follows in his article, that the learned writer did not intend this limitation in any broader sense than that of applicability to the Church "always and everywhere," (which is undoubtedly the sense in which the word "appropriate" is also used); for, in what thus follows, it is said that,—

"The legislative power of the Catholic Church is co-extensive with the world, and includes all subjects proper for Catholic Ecclesiastical legislation; except that it may not alter the Faith, the Sacraments or the Order of the Church, nor any other matter of Divine institution. *Nor is the fact that, owing to schism or other causes, this power cannot now be exercised, any argument against its potential existence, nor against the present authority of so much of its former legislation as in its nature was not local, partial or temporary.*"

In this view of the matter, and considering also that the suggestion that the Church Catholic "may not alter \* \* \* the Sacraments," cannot be construed to imply that the Church Universal is tied down to the *definition* given by the Anglican Communion as to what a "Sacrament" *is*, as differing from a *sacramental rite*,—in this view, and thus considering, the affirmative propositions, thus stated, so far as they go, are undoubtedly correct, both as to the codes of Law to which this Church is subject, and as to the legislative power of the Catholic Church. And it will undoubtedly be conceded that Diocesan legislation, within proper bounds, should be added to the codes of Law to which this Church is subject within her respective Diocesan jurisdictions.

But I find myself in direct conflict with Mr. BURGWIN'S "position that no part of the English Ecclesiastical Law is, or ever has been, as such, of binding obligation in this National Church of ours." On the contrary, I maintain that the Common Law of the Church of England, and also the statutory enactments of that Church prior to the Reformation, supplemental to or in aid of

such Common Law, (including, of course, the Canons of 1603), are obligatory in this Church, except so far as inapplicable by change of condition, or modified by antagonistic legislation.

There is no need to question or qualify Mr. BURGWIN'S definition of *Law*, as being "a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior power," for in an after part of this article it will be shown wherein the definition in no way strengthens his argument; but while the truth or error of his understanding with reference to the source and existence of the *Common Law* can have no decisive bearing upon the present discussion, yet it so minimizes what Lord COKE denominates "the Perfection of Reason," for the vindication of whose majesty and authority contention is made in this paper, that I must challenge the position assumed by my learned friend, quoted as follows:—

"The *lex non scripta* is held to be in force *only* on the hypothesis that the *Law in question was once regularly enacted by the proper legislative power*, and that the written evidence of such enactment having in the lapse of time been lost, its sufficient proof may now be found in its universal recognition and uninterrupted continuance from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. The rule of its existence is but the repetition of the *quod semper ubique et ab omnibus*."

Now I cannot agree that the Unwritten Law "is held to be in force *only* on the hypothesis" stated, or that "the rule of its existence" is as indicated in the quotation. While the salient features of some now obsolete statutes have undoubtedly been preserved and handed down in established principles of the Common Law, yet that system of jurisprudence is not, and never has been, involved in statutory enactment. It has not been subject to any such peril, nor to the ordeal of uncertainty and un wisdom, through which it must have passed in order to such enactment. Nor is it dependent upon any such rigid test as *quod semper ubique et ab omnibus*.

The latter proposition is demonstrated by the fact that the Civil Law, whose foundations were laid in the Grecian republics, whose rules and principles were dominant among the ancient Romans for more than a thousand years, receiving in the meantime extensive improvements born of wisdom and experience, and which Law outlived the Empire itself, and has ever since held sway,—I say, that the proposition that the Common Law is *not* subject

to any such test as Mr. BURGWIN affirms to be "the rule of its existence," is demonstrated by the fact that this Civil Law (and not the Common Law) prevails even to the present day in most of the States of modern Europe, including the Russian Empire, and is also the basis of Law in all the republics of South America, and in Mexico, in the Province of Quebec, (formerly Lower Canada), and even our own State of Louisiana, which last named State retained the Civil and barred out the Common Law by provision in her first Constitution, carefully re-enacted through all the vicissitudes of her fundamental law ever since. It is clearly apparent, therefore, that the rule of *quod semper ubique*, etc., cannot be invoked as a test by which to determine the authority of the Common Law, either in this country or in England.

To support his theory that "the *lex non scripta* is held to be in force only on the hypothesis that the law in question was once regularly enacted by proper legislative power, and that the written evidence of such enactment has in the lapse of time been lost," etc., my distinguished friend quotes the remark of an English Judge (Mr. Justice WILMOT) that "the Common Law is nothing else but statutes worn out by time." That this statement by Justice WILMOT "is nothing else but" bare assertion, without the semblance of reason or authority in its support, will be manifest from what follows in this paper. Chancellor KENT, in his Commentaries on American Law, refers to this observation by Judge WILMOT as follows:—

"According to the observation of an eminent English Judge (Lord Chief-Justice WILMOT) a statute law is the will of the legislature in writing, and the Common Law is nothing but statutes worn out by time; and all the law began by the consent of the legislature. This is laying down the origin of the Common Law too strictly. A great portion of the rules and maxims which constitute the immense code of the Common Law grew into use by gradual adoption, and received, from time to time, the sanction of the courts of justice, *without any legislative act or interference. It was the application of the dictates of natural justice and cultivated reason to particular cases.*

"In the just language of Sir MATTHEW HALE, the Common Law of England is 'not the product of the wisdom of some one man, or society of men, in any one age, *but of the wisdom, counsel, experience and observation of many ages of wise and observing men.*' (And his further

remarks on this subject would be well worthy the consideration of those bold projectors, who can think of striking off a perfect code of Law at a single essay.) 'Where the subject of any law is single, the prudence of one age may go far at one essay to provide a fit law; and yet, even in the wisest provision of that kind, experience shows us that new and unthought of emergencies often happen, that necessarily require new supplements, abatements, or explanations. But the body of laws that concern the common justice applicable to a great kingdom is vast and comprehensive, consists of indefinite particulars, and must meet with various emergencies, and therefore requires much time and much experience, as well as much wisdom and prudence, successively to discover defects and inconveniences, and to apply apt supplements and remedies for them; and such are the Common Laws of England, namely, the productions of much wisdom, time and experience.'"—I Kent's Com., 471-72.

Preceding what is thus quoted, Chancellor KENT says:

"The Common Law includes those principles, usages and rules of action applicable to the government and security of person and property, *which do not rest for their authority upon any express and positive declaration of the will of the legislature.*"—I Kent's Com., 471.

Mr. BURGWIN also refers to Sir MATTHEW HALE'S History of the Common Law, page 66, as "to the same effect" as the quoted statement by Mr. Justice WILMOT; but, after very careful search, I am unable to find any such doctrine declared in that work, either at the page referred to or elsewhere. On the contrary, Lord HALE, in addition to what is quoted of his views by Chancellor KENT in the foregoing extract, discourses of the Common Law, in the same book referred to, as follows:

"But I therefore style those parts of the Law *leges non scriptæ* because *their authoritative and original institutions are not set down in writing in that manner or with that authority that acts of parliament are*; but they are grown into use, and have acquired their binding power and the force of laws, by a long and immemorial usage, and by the strength of custom and reception in this kingdom. The matters, indeed, and the substance of those laws, are in writing, but the formal and obliging force and power of them grows from long custom and use, as will fully appear in the ensuing discourse."—Hale's History of the Common Law, (6th edit.) 22, 23.

At this point we might well proceed at once to the consideration of Mr. BURGWIN'S proposition "that neither a Nation nor a Church can, in the nature of things, inherit a Law," and also his seeming denial that "the Common Law of England was brought over with them by the Colonists, so far as adapted to their condition and circumstances, and, becoming thus a part of the Law of the land, has so continued to the present day, except as altered by subsequent legislation of our own;" but the analogies of the Common Law of the State have so important a bearing upon the obligation of Ecclesiastical Common Law, as conceded by my eminent friend, that it will not be out of place, in this connection, to enquire somewhat further of the origin, existence, and characteristics of this *lex non scripta* of the State. For, if Mr. BURGWIN'S theories of that Law, with reference to the State, are shown to be unsound, his arguments to dethrone the Unwritten Law of the Church will be bereft of their ingeniously devised support. But, even if he be right in regard to the State, I contend and shall undertake to demonstrate that, nevertheless, his view in respect to the Church is utterly at fault. The Law of the Church, thank Heaven, in no way depends upon that of the State, save only in recognition of "the powers that be," and in the way of "rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

Pursuing the inquiry in regard to the Unwritten Law of the State, for the purpose indicated, the following quotations are made from the writings of those whose weighty testimony, in addition to that already cited, cannot but be held as conclusive in refutation of Mr. BURGWIN'S position in regard to the origin and characteristics of that Law.

Treating of the Common Law, Lord COKE uses this language:

*"Reason is the life of the Law, nay the Common Law itself is nothing else but reason; which is to be understood of an artificial perfection of reason, gotten by long study, observation and experience, and not of every man's natural reason; for nemo nascitur artifex. This legal reason est summa ratio. And, therefore, if all the reason that is dispersed into so many heads, were united into one, yet could he not make such a law as the law of England is; because by many successions of ages it has been fined and refined by an infinite number of grave and learned men, and by long experience grown to such perfection, for the government of this realm, as the old rule may be justly*

verified by it, *neminem oportet esse sapientiore[m] legibus*: no man out of his own private reason ought to be wiser than the law, *which is the perfection of reason.*"—1 Coke upon Littleton, 97, b., section 138.

Judge BLACKSTONE, in his Commentaries (which, as every lawyer knows, are of the highest authority), says:

"The *lex non scripta*, or unwritten law, includes not only general customs, or the Common Law properly so called, but also the particular customs of certain parts of the Kingdom; and likewise those particular laws that are by custom observed only in certain courts and jurisdictions. When I call these parts of our law *lex non scripta*, I would not be understood as if all those laws were at present only oral, or communicated from the former ages to the present solely by word of mouth. \* \* \* The monuments and evidences of our legal customs are contained in the records of the several courts of justice, in books of reports and judicial decisions, and in the treatises of learned sages of the profession, preserved and handed down to us from the times of highest antiquity. However, I therefore style these parts of our laws *leges non scriptæ*, because *their original institution and authority are not set down in writing, as acts of Parliament are*, but they receive their binding power, and the force of laws, by long and immemorial usage, and by their universal reception throughout the kingdom."—1 Blackstone's Com., 63, 64.

In the case of *Norway Plain's Co. v. Boston and Maine Railroad*, 1 Gray, 263, 267, it is said by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, speaking through Mr. Chief Justice GRAY, that—

"It is one of the great merits and advantages of the Common Law that, *instead of a series of detailed practical rules, established by positive provisions*, and adapted to the precise circumstances of particular cases, which would become obsolete and fail, when the practice and course of business, to which they apply, should cease or change, the Common Law consists of a few broad and comprehensive principles, founded on reason, natural justice and enlightened public policy, modified and adapted to the circumstances of all the particular cases which fall within it."

In his recent Annual Address as President of the American Bar Association, the Hon. E. J. PHELPS, one of the most accomplished lawyers of this or any other

country, thus eloquently and forcibly discourses of the Unwritten Law :

“The origin of the Common Law was coeval with that of our race. Through all the subsequent centuries they have grown up together. It has come down to us with the blood which flows in our veins. *Its history has been that not merely of our jurisprudence, but of our principles of civil liberty, our institutions, our language, our literature, our religion.* It has kept pace with civilization, and its triumphs have been the great victories of peace. *All the best governments, all the best justice the world has ever seen have grown out of it.* Since *Magna Charta*, humanity, by the exertions of the Anglo-Saxon race, has made a larger and more real progress than in all previous time. Compare the history of those nations in which codes have prevailed with that of England and America under the Unwritten Law. If it demonstrates anything, *it establishes the superiority of a government and a justice founded upon general principles, over that which reposes upon any collection of arbitrary written rules. The one has been the constant source of liberty and of human advancement.* The other the engine of despotism and the harbinger of national decay.

“The Mosaic code was superseded by the Christian religion, but the Author of Christianity devised no code to take the place of that which had failed. *He left His work to stand upon those beneficent principles which few and simple words were sufficient to announce, but which are comprehensive enough for all the vicissitudes of human life. Christianity was the first system of Unwritten Law; the Common Law was its legitimate and necessary outgrowth,* and in its own turn superseded, so far as our race is concerned, the second great code of the world—the Roman Civil Law. In my humble judgment we might as well attempt to codify the applications of the principles of Christianity as of the principles of the Common Law. The process of growth and development that is essential to the one belongs equally to the other. Why should we part with the *birthright* that has proved so beneficial, for the sake of entering upon any doubtful experiment in a matter so vital? In the language of Burke, ‘Is not the old cool-headed *general law* better than any deviation that can be struck out of the present heat?’”

I need not apologize for quoting, at such length, this magnificent tribute to the Common Law ; for it sums up,

in words of burning truth, the great dignity, the vitalizing power, the rightful supremacy, and the majestic grandeur of that system of jurisprudence whose authority this paper is intended, in some measure, to vindicate.

It was for the maintenance of the great principles and sacred privileges of the Common Law that our forefathers shed their life-blood in the war of the Revolution. They claimed the rights and benefits which that Law secured to Englishmen, and which, as English colonists, they insisted followed them to these shores of promise; and because of the denial of these there came the call to war and the arbitrament of arms. Victory perched upon the banners of Reason, Natural Justice, Equal Rights and Civil Liberty, the recognized foundation principles of Common Law; yet we are now warned that these are not ours to "inherit," nor "claimable by birthright." The distinguished author of the article under discussion tells us: "It is true that both civil and ecclesiastical law writers of highest standing, have spoken of laws and systems of law, as being the subject of inheritance, and as being claimable by birthright; but I respectfully submit that such expressions are rhetorical, not logical"; that "neither a Nation nor a Church can, in the nature of things, inherit a law. Such a thing would be inconsistent with and contradictory to the definition of law as a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior or law-making power of the organization in question." In another place he says: "It is said that just as the Common Law of England was brought over with them by the colonists, so far as adapted to their condition and circumstances, and, becoming thus a part of the law of the land, has so continued to the present day, except as altered by subsequent legislation of our own, so is it in the Church with the English Common Law ecclesiastical. But is the postulate of this argument true? Did the Colonists bring over with them the Common Law of England?"

These various proportions will be considered together, rather than separately, in what follows, with a single exception, and without particular reference to the order in which they are arranged in the quotations. But, first of all, let us detach, and take into separate view Mr. BURGWIN'S definition of Law, in connection with the context; to which definition he makes repeated reference, and to which he clings as if it were a dominant factor in the argument. He tells us that "Law is a rule of conduct prescribed by a



superior or law-making power"; and it is with reference to this definition that we are told that "expressions are rhetorical, not logical," which involve the idea that "laws or systems of law" are "the subject of inheritance, and claimable by birthright." This is rather severe upon some of the great jurists and world-renowned commentators upon Law, from whose writings quotations are made in this paper; nevertheless, if the criticism be just, the argument of my valued friend is entitled to the benefit of it.

The position, restated in different form, is, that Common Law is not "the subject of inheritance" and "claimable by birthright," *because* "such a thing would be inconsistent with, and contradictory to, the definition of Law as a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior or law-making power." *Why* thus "inconsistent" and "contradictory" we are left to infer. The theory seems to be that a "rule of conduct prescribed by a superior" cannot be inherited. Among other definitions given of the verb "inherit" are these: "To take by succession, as the representative of the former possessor"; "to receive as a right or title descendible by law from an ancestor at his decease"; "to receive by birth"; "to receive by nature from a progenitor." "The son inherits the virtues of his father"; "to possess; as the world and all it doth *inherit*"; "to enjoy"; "to become possessed of"; "to take as a possession, by gift or divine appropriation." "Birthright" is defined as "any right or privilege to which a person is entitled by birth, such as an estate descendible by law to an heir, or civil liberty under a free constitution. It \*\* is applicable to any right which results from descent." "Inheritance," in one sense, may properly be defined as that which is or may be received or possessed by birth; a birthright; "a right to which one is entitled by birth." Now Law is not a rule prescribed by a superior for one's individual conduct merely and only *toward* his fellows, but is also a rule of conduct which each individual subject is entitled to demand that his fellows shall observe toward himself. In other words, each individual who is subject to the law, is also entitled to receive the protection and benefit of that law in his own behalf; and we are all possessed by birth of the right to such rule of conduct by each toward the other. Being a right to which we are entitled by birth, it is hence a birthright. The fact that the rule is prescribed by a superior does not alter the right. The contrary doctrine, pursued to its logical sequel, implies that a

people are not entitled to the benefit of *any* laws, unless they first resolve themselves into a law-making power and adopt such laws by affirmative legislation, or else give them vitality by some other process of positive affirmation. If people may not claim the benefits and privileges of the Law without affirmative adoption, surely they cannot be subjected to its mandates.

It is not here contended that we, as individual citizens, inherit the Common Law, or that it is ours by birthright, in any sense of dominion or prerogative; but that it is ours to invoke, ours "to enjoy," ours for its benefits and privileges, as well as ours to obey. In their collective capacity *the people*, under our form of government, acting through their representatives, are the "superior or law-making" and governing power, and, as such, they take or inherit "by succession" the dominion and prerogatives of the former government.

If the point be made that it would be more accurate to say that benefits and privileges accruing to us as citizens, under or by reason of the Law, are ours by inheritance or birthright rather than that the Law itself is ours; I reply that this is "sticking in the bark"; for, unless the Law is ours, we can have no warrant to assert any rights or privileges thereunder. It is because the Law *is* ours, that we are entitled to its benefits and are subject to its mandates.

But let us take counsel of some of the great commentators upon Law, and of other acknowledged authorities, with reference to this question of "inheritance" or "birth-right," and upon the question whether or not the Colonists brought over with them the Common Law of England, and also upon the further question of the continuing force of that Law, and certain statutes in aid thereof, as entering into and being part of the Common Law itself.

Mr. Justice STORY, one of the most profound jurists this or any other country has produced, in pronouncing the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in *The Town of Pawlet v. Clark et al.*, 9 Cranch, 292, uses this language:

"Independent, however, of such a provision, we take it to be a *clear principle*, that *the Common Law in force at the emigration of our ancestors is deemed the birthright of the Colonies*, unless so far as it is inapplicable to their situation or repugnant to their own rights and privileges."

The same learned Judge, in delivering the opinion of

the same high tribunal in the case of *Van Ness v. Packard*, 2 Peters, 137, 144, says:

"The Common Law of England is not to be taken in all respects to be that of America. *Our ancestors brought with them its general principles, and claimed it as their birthright*; but they brought with them and adopted only that portion which was applicable to their situation."

See also to the same purport, Story on the Constitution, fourth edition, vol. 1, sec. 148.

In *Parsons v. Bedford et al.*, 3 Peters, 433, 446, the Supreme Court of the United States, speaking again through Judge STORY, say that, at the time the Seventh Amendment to the Constitution was proposed and adopted, "*there were no States in the Union, the basis of whose jurisprudence was not essentially that of the Common Law in its widest meaning*, and probably no States were contemplated in which it would not exist."

It will be noted that the propositions thus quoted are not merely those of Mr. Justice STORY, but of the Supreme Court of the United States, of which august tribunal he was so distinguished an ornament.

In his work on the Constitution, Judge STORY declares that,—

"Ever since the settlement of the Colonies, the *universal principle* (and the practice has conformed to it) has been, that *the Common Law is our birthright and inheritance*, and that *our ancestors brought hither with them*, upon their emigration, all of it which was applicable to their situation. The whole structure of our present jurisprudence stands upon the original foundation of the Common Law."—1 Story on the Constitution, fourth edition, sec. 157.

See also, to the same effect, *Van Ness v. Packard*, 2 Peters, 144; *Chisholm v. Georgia*, 2 Dallas, 435; *Pawlet v. Clark*, 9 Cranch, 332; *State v. Rollins*, 8 N. H., 550; *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 4 Metcalf, 122; *Pollard v. Hagan*, 3 Howard, 212; *Sackett v. Sackett*, 8 Pick., 309; *State v. Cummings*, 33 Conn., 260.

Chancellor KENT, in his Commentaries on American Law, says:

"In its improved condition in England, and especially in its improved and varied condition in this country, under the benign influence of an expanded commerce, of enlightened justice, of republican principles, and of sound philosophy, the Common Law has become a code of ma-

tured ethics and enlarged civil wisdom, admirably adapted to promote and secure the freedom and happiness of social life. It has proved to be a system replete with vigorous and healthy principles, eminently conducive to the growth of civil liberty. \* \* \* *It is the common jurisprudence of the United States, and was brought with them as colonists from England,* and established here, so far as it was adapted to our institutions and circumstances. It was claimed by the Congress of the United Colonies, in 1774, as a branch of those 'indubitable rights and liberties, to which the respective colonies are entitled' (Declaration of Rights of October 14, 1774; Journals of Congress, I., 28). It fills up every interstice, and occupies every wide space which the statute law cannot occupy. \* \* \* To use the words of the learned jurist, to whom I have already alluded (Du Ponceau), 'we live in the midst of the Common Law, we inhale it at every breath, imbibe it at every pore; we meet it when we wake and when we lie down to sleep, when we travel and when we stay at home; and it is interwoven with the very idiom that we speak; and we cannot learn another system of laws without learning, at the same time, another language.'—1 Kent, 342-3.

Verily, this is saying more of the Common Law than that it is "the subject of inheritance" and "claimable by birthright," which Mr. BURGWIN insists cannot be. DU PONCEAU and Chancellor KENT seem to regard it as part of our *very being*.

Not only so, but the learned Chancellor tells us, in another place, that,—

"It has been *assumed by the Courts of justice, or declared by statute, with the like modifications, as the Law of the land in every State. It was imported by our colonial ancestors, as far as it was applicable and was sanctioned by royal charters and colonial statutes. It is also the established doctrine that English Statutes, passed before the emigration of our ancestors, and applicable to our situation, and in amendment of the law, constitute a part of the Common Law of this country.*"—1 Kent, 372-3.

Let it here be specially noted that the proposition that the statutes referred to "constitute a part of the Common Law of this country" has a direct bearing, by analogy, upon the question whether or not the Canons of 1603 of the Church of England, so far as applicable, constitute a part of our Ecclesiastical Law in this country; which I maintain to be the case, and which will be further con-

sidered in connection with the more especial discussion of such Ecclesiastical Law.

I quote further, as follows :

"The Congress of 1774 claimed to be entitled to the benefit, not only of the Common Law of England, but of such of the English Statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they had by experience respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances. (Journals of Congress, October 14, 1774.) *This was only declaratory of the principle in the English law, that English subjects going to a new and uninhabited country carry with them, as their birthright, the laws of England existing when the colonization takes place.*"—1 Kent, (Holmes' Edit.), 473, note (b.).

And see also *Blankard v. Goldy*, 2 Salk., 411; Decision of the Lords of the Privy Council, 2 P. Wms., 75; *Dutton v. Howell*, Show. Parl. Ca., 31, 32; 1 Blackstone's Com., 107; *Commonwealth v. Leach*, 1 Mass., 60; Same v. Knowlton, 2 *Idem*, 534—all cited *in loco*. Likewise see *Patterson v. Winn*., 5 Peters, 233, and *Sackett v. Sackett*, 8 Pick., 309.

But let us quote still further from the same note above referred to :

"The rule is different upon the conquest of a country; the conqueror may deal with the inhabitants, and give them whatever laws he pleases, but until an alteration be made, the former laws continue. (Calvin's Case, 7 Co., 17.) The civil code of Louisiana, art. 3,521, and the statute of that State of 1828, repealed the Spanish, Roman, and French laws in force when Louisiana was ceded to the United States. But it was held, in *Reynolds v. Swain*, 13 Louisiana Reports, 193, *that this repeal only extended to the positive, written or statute laws of those nations, introductory of a new rule, and not to those which were merely declaratory, and that it was not intended to abrogate those principles of law which had been established or settled by the decisions of the courts of justice.*"—1 Kent, (Holmes' Edit.), 473, note (b.).

Judge COOLEY, in his work on Constitutional Limitations, page 21, (fourth edition, p. 28,) says :

"By far the larger and more valuable portion of that body of laws, (*i.e.*, in force in the various States of the Union in addition to the National and State Constitutions,) consisted of the Common Law of England, which had been transplanted in the American wilderness, and

which the colonists, now become an independent nation, had found a shelter of protection during all the long contest with the mother country, brought at last to so fortunate a conclusion. \* \* \* *Springing from the very nature of the people themselves*; and developed in their own experience, it was obviously the body of laws best adapted to their needs, *and as they took with them their nature, so also they would take with them their laws whenever they should transfer their domicile from one country to another.*"

Chief Justice POLAND, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of Vermont, in 1862, in *Le Barron v. Le Barron*, 35 Vt., 365, 367, used this language:

"This country having been settled by that (England), under the authority of its government, and remaining for many years a part of its dominion, became and *remained subject and entitled to the general laws of the government, and they became equally the laws of this country*, except so far as they were inapplicable to the new relation and condition of things."

If affirmative legislation were necessary in order to the operative force of the Common Law, surely there could be no *presumptions* in favor of its prevalence in the different states; yet, no lawyer who has given attention to the subject will question that—

"In the absence of all proof to the contrary, *the Common Law is presumed to prevail in the States of the Union*. On a Common Law question, the courts of one state will *assume* that the Common Law is in force in a sister state." *Crouch v. Hall*, 15 Ill. 265; *Abel v. Douglas*, 4 Denio, 305, 309; *Sherrill v. Hopkins*, 1 Cow., 103; *Holmes v. Broughton*, 10 Wendell, 75; *Legg v. Legg*, 8 Mass., 99; *Sherman v. Marley*, 29 Ind., 458; *Rue High, Appellant*, 2 Doug., (Mich.) 515; *Shepard v. Nabors*, 6 Ala., 631; *Titus v. Scantling*, 4 Blackf., 90, and authorities cited.

Nor will the courts "take judicial cognizance of any of the laws of a sister state at variance with the Common Law."—*Holmes v. Broughton*, 10 Wend, 77, 79.

Of course, the rulings of the Courts in these cases can be upon no other theory than that the Common Law, so far as applicable, prevails in this country, except where superseded by conflicting legislation.

We have already seen, in what precedes, that even in conquered and ceded countries, where the conqueror is

supreme, and may set aside the laws of the conquered, substituting others instead,—even in such countries the old laws remain obligatory, unless and until new and conflicting laws are enacted. The possible exceptions to this rule are very limited. As this feature of International Law is of much importance and has a decided bearing upon the present discussion, it will be profitable to look further into the authorities upon the subject, especially as they throw light upon another question that must be considered—that is, upon what theory these Laws are so continued in force; and which will help to clear away the difficulties interposed by Mr. BURGWIN in connection with his definition of Law.

In his work on the Constitution, Judge STORY says:

“In respect to conquered and ceded countries, which have already laws of their own, \* \* \* the crown has a right to abrogate the former laws and institute new ones. But *until such new laws are promulgated, the old laws and customs of the country remain in full force*, unless so far as they are contrary to our religion, or enact anything that is *malum in se*; for in all such cases the laws of the country shall prevail.”—1 Story on the Constitution, Sec. 150.

In Halleck's International Law we find the following propositions:

“*The laws of a conquered country, says Lord Mansfield, 'continue in force until they are altered by the conqueror; the absurd exception as to Pagans, mentioned in Calvin's case, shows the universality and antiquity of the maxim. For that distinction could not exist before the Christian era, and in all probability arose from the mad enthusiasm of the Crusades. This may be said of the municipal laws of the conquered Country, but not of its political laws, or the relations of the inhabitants with the government.'* The rule is more correctly and clearly stated by Chief Justice MARSHALL as follows: ‘*On the transfer of territory, it has never been held that the relations of the inhabitants with each other undergo any change. The relations with their former sovereign are dissolved, and new relations are created between them and the government which has acquired their territory;—the law, which may be denominated political, is necessarily changed, although that which regulates the intercourse and general conduct of individuals, remains in force until altered by the newly created power of the State.*’ This is

now a well-settled rule of the law of nations, and is universally admitted."—2 Halleck's International Law, 493.

Again:

"It seems to be a well-established rule of the Law of Nations, that, *on the cession of a conquered territory* by a treaty of peace, *the inhabitants of such territory are remitted to the municipal laws and usages which prevailed among them before the conquest, so far as not changed by the constitution or political institutions of the new sovereignty*, and the laws of that sovereignty which *proprio rigore* extend over them."—2 Halleck, 497.

And again:

"When a country which has been conquered is ceded to the conqueror by the treaty of peace, the *plenum et utile dominium* of the conqueror will be considered as having existed from the beginning of the conquest. When it is said that the law political ceases on the conquest, and that the law municipal continues till changed by the will of the conqueror, it is not meant that these latter laws, *proprio rigore*, remain in force, but that, *it is presumed, the new political sovereign has adopted and continued them as a matter of convenience*. They do not derive any force from the will of the conquered, for the person capable of having and exercising a will—the body politic, or law-making power of the conquered,—is extinguished by the conquest. When, therefore, we come to pronounce upon the force of a law of the conquered people after the conquest, and to determine whether it has been *tacitly adopted* by the conqueror, we must look to the character of its provisions, and compare them with the laws and institutions of the conquering State; that is, with the will of the conqueror as expressed by himself in similar matters. Whatever is in conflict with, or directly opposed to, such expressions of his will, we cannot *presume to have been adopted by his tacit consent*. Hence Lord COKE says, if a Christian king should conquer an infidel country, the laws of the conqueror, *ipso facto*, cease, because it is not to be presumed that a Christian king has adopted the laws of an infidel race. But, *when there is no such conflict in the institutions and laws of the two countries, those of the conquered which regulate personal relations, commercial transactions, and property in all its modes of transfer and acquisition, are PRESUMED to have been adopted as a matter of convenience*. This rule of international law is both reasonable and just."—*Ibid.*, 499, 500. And see also page 501.



And once again :

"It follows, from the principles laid down in this and the preceding chapters, that complete conquest, by whatever mode it may be perfected, carries with it all the rights of the former government; or, in other words, *the conqueror, by the completion of his conquest, becomes, as it were, the heir and universal successor of the defunct or extinguished state.*"—2 Halleck's International Law, 507.

Mr. BURGWIN'S hypothesis is that "neither a Nation nor a Church can, in the nature of things, inherit a law; such a thing would be inconsistent with, and contradictory to, the definition of law as a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior or law-enacting power." Now it will be conceded that the conqueror, in case of conquest, becomes the law-making power. It will also be conceded that the people of the Colonies, as the conquerors in the war for independence, became the "superior or law-making power" within their own respective jurisdictions, acting, of course, through their chosen representatives. It follows, if Mr. HALLECK'S statement of the Law is correct, that they were "the heirs and universal successors of the former government." And, as shown by the authority cited, which is in harmony with all the authorities on the subject, "it is *presumed the new political sovereigns have adopted and continued*" the municipal laws of the former government "as a matter of convenience," so far as they are applicable to the new condition, and such laws are so "*presumed to have been adopted by tacit consent.*" Not only so, but under the same presumption of "tacit adoption," these laws remain in force until the "superior or law-making power," by affirmative action, rejects or changes the same. And this is as true in the Church as in the State. The "tacit adoption" is as effectual as positive adoption, and cannot be overcome except by the affirmative voice of the "superior or law-making power" declaring that the old law shall no longer prevail, or else proclaiming new law by which the old is in effect superseded.

Thus, not only is a "superior or law-making power" supplied to accommodate Mr. BURGWIN'S definition of Law; but we can now have no difficulty in comprehending what is meant by jurists and commentators whenever they speak of the "tacit adoption" of the Common Law. And it may be added, in this connection, that any statutory adoption of the Common Law, is only cumulative

and declarative, so far forth as no modifications or limitations are thereby enacted.

But Mr. BURGWIN tells us that:—

“The *United States* did not receive, never has received, and does not now recognize, the English Common Law as a part of its legal code. Our National Courts accept no law as having the sanction of our *National* government, if it may not be found in the Constitution or the laws of Congress. That this statement may be seen to rest upon authority, I will quote what was said by the Supreme Court of the United States in a celebrated case, (*Wheaton v. Peters*, 8 Peters’ R. 591, 658–9,) where the question arose and was most elaborately argued by Mr. WEBSTER and Mr. INGERSOL:—

‘It is clear that there can be no Common Law of the United States. The *Federal* Government is composed of *twenty-four sovereign and independent States*, each of which may have its local usages and Common Law. There is no principle which pervades the *Union* and has the authority of Law, that is not embodied in the Constitution and laws of the Union. The Common Law could be made a part of our *Federal* system only by legislative adoption.’

[The italics are mine, as is the case in most of the preceding and subsequent extracts.]

Immediately following the extract quoted, Mr. Justice MCLEAN, in the same opinion, adds:

“It is insisted that our ancestors, when they migrated to this country, *brought with them the English Common Law, as a part of their heritage. That this was the case, to a limited extent, is admitted.* No one will contend, that the Common Law, as it existed in England, has ever been in force in *all* its provisions in any State in this Union. It was adopted so far only as its principles were suited to the condition of the Colonies.”—*Ibid.*, 658–9.

Now, as will be demonstrated in what follows, in no view of the matter is it of any considerable consequence to the argument by analogy as to whether the “United States” did or “did not receive” “the English Common Law as a part of *its* legal code,” nor as to whether or not “our *National* Courts accept no law as having the sanction of the *National* Government, if it may not be found in the Constitution or the laws of Congress,” nor yet whether or not “there can be no Common Law of the United States”; but the position assumed in this regard, if it be not overstated, is at least calculated to mislead

the reader who is not familiar with legal distinctions. It is not the shadow, but the substance, that is of the more avail; and if it shall appear that "our National Courts" *do* receive, and accept, and apply the English Common Law in effectuating *remedies*, then Mr. BURGWIN'S argument, in this behalf, is bereft of all substance, and left with only a phantom to fondle. It is a matter of trifling concern as to whence flows the *source of jurisdiction*, if, jurisdiction being acquired, the great principles of the Common Law can be invoked in the *exercise* of that jurisdiction, which is precisely what can be done and *is* done by "our National Courts" as well as by the State tribunals. Jurisdiction of the subject matter being conferred by written law upon the Federal Courts, "the nature, extent and mode of *exercise* of the jurisdiction must be determined by the Common Law."

If it be conceded that there is no Common Law of the United States as a Nation, yet, in *Robinson v. Campbell*, 3 Wheaton, 212, 239, the Supreme Court of the United States say, with reference to *remedies*, that—

"The Court, therefore, think that, to effectuate the purposes of the legislature, the *remedies* in the courts of the United States are to be at Common Law or in equity, not according to the practice of the State Courts, but *according to the principles of Common Law and Equity, as distinguished and defined in that country from which we derive our knowledge of those principles.*"—*Ibid.*, 239; 1 Kent. Com. 341—2.

Again:—

"The Common Law, *in the absence of positive statute law*, regulates, interprets and controls the powers and duties of the court of impeachments under the Constitution of the United States; and, though the Common Law cannot be the foundation of a *jurisdiction* not given by the Constitution and laws, that jurisdiction, when given, attaches and is to be exercised according to the rules of the Common Law. Were it otherwise, there would be nothing to exempt us from an absolute despotism of opinion and practice."—1 Holmes' Kent. Com. 343.—note (b).

And while the Federal courts, as a rule, follow the decisions of the respective State courts in construing their own Statutes, yet, when a question is to be determined by Common Law rules only, the United States courts are not bound or controlled by the rulings of such State courts.

See Foxcroft *v.* Mollett, 4 Howard, 353; Williamson *v.* Berry, 8 Howard, 495; Chicago *v.* Robins, 2 Black, 418.

"The settled doctrine of this (United States Supreme) Court is that the *remedies* in equity are to be administered, not according to the State practice, but according to the practice of the courts of equity in the parent country, as contradistinguished from that of courts of law."—Boyle *v.* Zacharie, 6 Peters, 648.

And the same rule prevails also as to criminal proceedings in the courts of the United States. The learned Dr. WHARTON, in his invaluable work on Criminal Law, says :

"But even assuming that the doctrine that the Common Law, as a *source* of jurisdiction, does not control the Federal courts, \* \* \* it by no means follows that the Common Law, as a *rule for the exercise of a jurisdiction previously given*, does not apply undiminished, except so far as interferes with the positive statute."—I Wharton's *Crim. Law*, (ed. 1861), § 169.

Again :—

"There has been a great difference of opinion whether and how far the Common Law as to *crimes* is to be recognized and enforced in the courts of the United States in the absence of any express legislation by Congress. If such legislation confers *jurisdiction* over a criminal offense, the nature, extent and mode of *exercise of that jurisdiction* must be determined by the Common Law."—Hilliard's *Am. Law*, 12; United States *v.* Coolidge, 1 Gallison, 491; Same *v.* Same, 1 Wheaton, 415; United States *v.* New Bedford Bridge, 1 W. & M., 401; Bishop's *Statutory Crimes*, §§ 363-64.

In that portion of his argument now under consideration, Mr. BURGWIN takes the position that, conceding, so far as the Common Law prevailed in the several colonies, "it was in each case handed over by tradition to the several sovereign states which succeeded these colonies," yet he quotes from the opinion in *Wheaton v. Peters*, *supra*, as indicated, for the purpose of refuting an antecedently supposed argument that, "as the United States, as a *Nation* formed by the Colonies or States, received from these Colonies or States the Common Law which was then in force; so the National Church, formed by the Union of the Churches in these different Colonies or States, received *from them* that English Common Law Ecclesiastical which was in force in them." And after thus quoting from the opinion, my

esteemed friend then determines, to his own satisfaction at least, that "the conclusion is reversed," and that "the National Government, though formed of sovereign States, in each of which, to a greater or less extent, the Common Law formed a part of its legal system, yet did *not* accept or adopt that Common Law; so the National Church, likewise formed of independent State Churches or Dioceses, in which the English Common Law Ecclesiastical prevailed to a greater or less extent, did *not* accept or adopt such Ecclesiastical Law as part of its legal code."

Having considered the relation of the Common Law to the National courts, I now most emphatically deny the assumed parallel as between the Nation and the Church. The National government derives all its powers by delegation from the States, or from the people through the States; whereas *the National Church receives none of its laws or powers from the supposed independent State Churches or Dioceses*. The National Church receives and has received no more authority from the Dioceses than Bishops do from the respective Dioceses which elected them, and that is *simply none at all*. The consent by the Church in the different Colonies or States to the National organization, (which, in reality, amounts to a Province), in no way conferred, nor was it an attempt to confer legislative functions upon the National Church. The voluntary submission of the different Dioceses to the jurisdiction of the National Church, whatever that jurisdiction was or is, in no measure imparted functions to that Church. Not a single power is delegated by the Constitution. That instrument *assumes that the needed powers exist*. Not so with the Constitution of the National government. By the latter all the powers of such government are delegated. In the State, under our form and theory of government, power *ascends* from the People; whereas, in the Church, it *descends* from above to the Bishops, and, in some respects *through* the Bishops, into the subordinate ministry. The Bishops are the *governing* order. "Without your Bishop you should do nothing," says S. Ignatius.—Ignat. Epist. to Trallians.—See "Apostolic Fathers," (Translated by Archbishop Canterb., Hartford ed., 1834,) p. 132. Origen tells us that "the Ecclesiastical government over us all is committed" to the Bishop. Origen in Jerem., Homil. II., tom. I., Oper. ed. Huet. Rothomag., 1688, p. 114. This ancient Father also says that the "*Power of the Keys*, as promised to S. Peter in Matt. XVI,

18, 19, the Bishops of the Primitive Church apply to themselves."—Origen in Matt. XXI, ed. Huetti, etc. S. Cyprian teaches that "the Church is founded upon the Bishops, *by whom every ecclesiastical act is governed.*"—Cyp., Ep. 27., ed. Pamel, or Ep. 33, ed. Oxon., § 1. S. Jerome says the Bishop "*rules over willing*" while the king rules over "unwilling subjects." Epitaph. Nepotian, cap. VII, p. 11. The XXXIX. of the Apostolical Canons provides: "Let not the Presbyters or deacons do anything without the sanction of the Bishop; for he it is who *is entrusted with the people of the Lord.*" The LVII. Canon of Laodicea declares that "the Presbyters must do nothing without the consent of the Bishop." Van Espen, in his great work on the Canons and Laws of the Church, (Part III, Title IV, p. 42, Venetian ed.,) says:—"It appears, also, from many testimonies gathered from antiquity, that Bishops at that time inquired into all crimes, even those concealed (*occulta*) and also instituted process, that they might impose penalty according to the convicted crime," adding that "Bishops exercised this jurisdiction then for all crimes *in a sacramental relation*, as we now say."

In Gibson's *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, it is stated that—

"The very office of Consecration \* \* \* warrants every Bishop, in the clearest and fullest terms, *to claim authority by the word of God* for the correcting and punishing of such as be unjust, disobedient, and criminous, (*i.e.*, for the exercise of all manner of spiritual discipline) within his Diocese."—Codex, Introductory Discourse, p. xviii.

Again, in discussing the distinction between the temporal and spiritual administration of Bishops, GIBSON says:

"That which belongs directly and immediately to the Episcopal office is the *government* of the Clergy as to manners and functions, the visitation of their Diocese, the detection of vice, the support of churches and ecclesiastical mansions, the care of all things which concern the public worship of Almighty God and the like, together with the right of inflicting spiritual censures, as the proper means of attaining those spiritual ends."—Codex, Introductory Discourse, p. xxv.

Even John Calvin holds that "*Episcopatus ipse a Deo profectus est. Episcopi munus Dei auctoritate constitutum est et legibus definitum.*" ["The Episcopate itself proceeds from God Himself. The office of Bishop was estab-

lished by the authority of God, and is regulated by laws.”]—Durrell's View of the Foreign Churches, p. 162.—Hugo Grotius, in his Annotations on the Consultations of Cas-sander, Acts xiv., p. 714, col. 2, declares that “Bishops are the heads of Presbyters, and *that preeminence* was foreshown in Peter, and *was appointed by the Apostles*, whenever it could be done, and *approved by the Holy Ghost* in the Revelations.” See also Le Clerc's Grotius, p. 320. “A Bishop is a minister of God, unto whom with permanent continuance there is given not only power of administering the Word and Sacraments, which power the Presbyters have also, but also a further power to ordain ecclesiastical persons, and *a power of chieftly in government over Presbyters as well as laymen*, a person to be, by way of jurisdiction, a pastor even unto pastors.”—Eccl. Pol., Book vii., sec. 2; Hoffman's Law of the Church, 468; Watson's Clergyman's Law, 245; Bishop Brownell on the Prayer Book, Communion Office, note. And see Stillingfleet's Eccl. Cases, 334 *et seq.*

These authorities are given, [and others to the same purport might be cited almost *ad infinitum*,] in order to show *the real authority and governing power* of Bishops, for its bearing upon the present discussion; and I have been thus particular in the matter, because, strange as it may seem, a very considerable portion of even Church people appear to have no idea that Bishops have any other inherent functions than such as pertain to ordination and confirmation. The Priest takes so much as he possesses of the power of the Keys and other functions by delegation from the Bishop, the latter receiving his from our LORD, through the Apostles and their successors down through the ages. Neither Priest nor layman possesses any inherent power of legislation. Their counsel and advice is taken by the Bishops, as was the case in the Primitive Church; and in “this Church” the Bishops have granted to them, as represented in National Synod, the constitutional right of initiating and vetoing measures. In other words, the Bishops have consented and in legal form agreed not to *exercise* certain of their inherent functions, except so far as advised and approved by the House of Deputies in General Convention. Each Bishop also has authority to make Canons that are binding within his Diocese or jurisdiction, [as to which see Stillingfleet's Ecclesiastical Law, 336]; but in this country the Bishops, respectively, have here again limited the *exercise* of this

authority to such extent as, by the Constitutions and Canons of their respective Dioceses, there is delegated to the Clergy and Laity the right of participation in framing laws for the Diocese. The powers of a Bishop in his Diocese are not merely and only those flowing from his individual functions, but those flowing from the authority and functions of the College of Bishops, or the Bishops of the Province, through whom his individual functions are derived. In other words, he exercises within the jurisdiction committed to him by the College of Bishops, not merely his own authority and functions, but those of the federated Bishops, of whom he is one, and of whom he is the especial representative of his Diocese. Neither the Bishop nor his Diocese is, or can be, independent of the General or Provincial Church. There can be no such thing as an "independent" Church or Diocese, as is supposed in the article under discussion.

We have now seen that the General Government is one of powers delegated by the people in and through the National Constitution, and of such powers *only*. We have likewise seen that the National Church is not a Church of delegated powers at all, but one possessing in and through the Bishops, or College of Apostles, inherent authority of government and discipline, the Constitution of the National Church being simply an instrument under the terms and conditions of which *organization* was effected and jurisdiction recognized, and not conferring or attempting to confer any law-making or governing power.

The fact is known to all that, nevertheless, the General Convention legislates in ecclesiastical matters without reserve or hindrance, except so far as restrained by the *limitations* of the Constitution, and in subordination to Divine and Catholic Law.

The relative sources of power, as between the National Government and the National Church, being so widely variant, Mr. BURGWIN'S assumed parallel turns out to be no parallel at all; hence his conclusion that the National Church did not receive or accept the English Common Law Ecclesiastical, is a *non sequitur*, and, being without support, must fall.

Turning, for the most part, from analogies as between laws of the Church and those of the State, let us now give more exclusive attention to Ecclesiastical Law, and herein especially to the direct question as to how far, from a more strictly Church standpoint, the Ecclesiastical Law



of England is of binding obligation in this Church of ours. We have already considered some general principles, and consulted some authorities, bearing upon Ecclesiastical Law and Government, which should be kept in view as we proceed.

And, first of all, let us come to a correct understanding of the Common Law Ecclesiastical.

In Bishop GIBSON'S Codex, we read as follows:—

“*Common Law*: Which, (saith Sir J. Davis), is nothing else but the Common Law of the Realm: And, (so he adds) a Custom which hath obtained the force of Law, is always said to be *jus non scriptum*. And as the Spirituality is an essential part of the English Constitution, and of a distinct Nature and Administration from the Temporality; so hath it its *Common Law*, and *jura non scripta*, as well as the Temporality. Such are, for instance, the Divisions of Provinces, Dioceses and Parishes, the General Jurisdiction of Bishops over their Dioceses, the particular rights of Visiting them, the Delegation of powers for the Exercise of Jurisdiction; and the like Ancient Rights, which are not derived from any written laws, but (so far as they are Spiritual Powers) have the same original with the order itself; and, (considered as branches of the Constitution of the Church of England) subsist upon Ancient Custom, and Immemorial Practice, and, as subsisting upon these, may be properly called the Common Law of the Church. ‘There is’ (said Justice WHITLOCK, in the case of Evarts and Owen) ‘a Common Law Ecclesiastical, as well as our Common Law; *Jus Commune Ecclesiasticum*, as well as *Jus Commune Laicum*.’ And it would be strange, if there should not; since the whole Body is divided into Spirituality and Temporality, and causes are distinctly assigned to the cognizance of each according as they are of a Spiritual or Temporal nature, and many of the Laws (as well relating to the Spirituality as to the Temporality) are *unwritten* and depend upon Immemorial Practice. So that the making Common Law one branch in the division of the Laws of the Church of England, is an immediate consequence of the division of the whole Body into Spirituality and Temporality; and is no more, in effect, than to say that Immemorial Practice relating to Spiritual affairs, shall be a Law or Rule of the same force and obligation in the Spiritual Administration, that the like Immemorial Practice relating to Temporal affairs, shall be in the Temporal

Administration. Nor can anything make this to be looked on as a new or strange doctrine, but the way of speaking which the books of Common Law have introduced, as though everything that is in itself Common Law, must of necessity be under the cognizance of what they call Common Law. Whereas (in the words of the learned Bishop Stillingfleet) *the Common Law hath not its denomination from the Universality of its extent*, as though all things were under its jurisdiction, and all other methods were but encroachments upon it: but *the true notion of the Common Law extends to all those customs which have obtained the force of Laws*: although the method of proceeding be very different in them. And I see no reason, why those Laws, which stand upon one common bottom, as being received by immemorial custom, should not pass under the same denomination."—Codex, Introductory Discourse, xxvii.

In another place the learned author states that—

"The rules of Common and Canon Law *are founded, not only upon the judgments and opinions of the Professors of both Laws, but also upon the practice of our own Church and upon the Body of the Ancient Canon Law.*"—Codex, Preface, xiv.

To the same purport Dr. BURN discourses of the Common Law. He says that "the Ecclesiastical Law of England is compounded of these four main ingredients: the *Civil Law*, the *Canon Law*, the *Common Law*, and the *Statute Law.*"—I Burn's Eccl. Law, Preface, xi. The Civil Law he defines as "the Law of the Ancient Romans which had its foundation in the Grecian republics, and received continual improvements in the Roman State during the space of upwards of a thousand years, and did not expire at last even with the Empire itself."—*Ibid.* "The Canon Law," he states, "sprung up out of the ruins of the Roman Empire, and from the power of the Romish Pontiffs. When the seat of the Empire was removed to Constantinople, many of the European princes and states fell off from the dominion of the Emperors; and Italy amongst the rest. And the Bishops of Rome, having been generally held in esteem as presiding in the capital city of the Empire, began to set up for themselves, and by degrees acquired a temporal dominion in Italy, and a spiritual dominion throughout Italy and almost all the rest of Europe. And thereupon the several princes and states did willingly receive into the body of their own laws the

Canons of Councils, the writings of the holy fathers, and the Decrees and Constitutions of Popes. Concerning the Canons of Councils, it was established by Justinian himself, that the Canons of the Council of Nice and of Constantinople, of the first Council of Ephesus, and of the Council of Chalcedon, should be observed for Laws; and that their decrees, as to matters of Faith and Doctrine, should be esteemed even as the Holy Scriptures."—*Ibid.*, xix, xx. The author, after further comments, explains that the determinations of the Roman Pontiffs "were called *Rescripts* and *Decretal Epistles*, and obtained the force of Laws," and that "more particularly, of the Canon Law there are two principal parts, the *Decrees* and the *Decretals*," the former being "Ecclesiastical Constitutions made by the Pope and Cardinals at no man's suit," and the latter "Canonical Epistles written by the Popes alone, or by the Popes and Cardinals, at the instance or suit of some one or more, for the ordering and determining of some matter in controversy, and have the authority of a Law in themselves."—*Ibid.*, xx, xxi. The learned author, further on, defines the Common Law in full harmony with the explanations of it herein before given, declaring that it is "*not set down in writing* in that manner or with that verbal explicitness, that acts of Parliament are," but has acquired "binding power and the force of Law, by a long and immemorial usage," etc.—*Ibid.* 7 (1 Burn's), xxx, *et seq.*, Preface.

Now the Common Law Ecclesiastical, deriving many of its salient features from the Divine Law itself, embraces and appropriates all the great principles and profound philosophy of both the Civil and the Canon Law, so far as not tied to, or involved in, the peculiar conditions and surroundings under which those systems grew up and were matured. Judge BLACKSTONE and Lord HALE class the Canon and Civil Laws, as administered in the Ecclesiastical Courts of England, as parts of the Common Law, adopted and used in peculiar jurisdictions. 1 Blackstone, 79; Hale's Hist. Com. Law, 27, 32. And Dr. BURN informs us that "where these laws do interfere and cross each other, the order of preference is this: The Civil Law submitth to the Canon Law; both of these to the Common Law."—1 Burn's Eccl. Law, xi. And see also Muscutt on Church Laws, 19.

And yet we are told, in substance and effect, that this Church of ours cannot "inherit," "as being claimable by

birthright," these Rules of Conduct, known as the Common Law Ecclesiastical, established by the wisdom and experience of ages upon ages, and that they can be obligatory and available only when affirmatively adopted or "prescribed by the superior or law-making power." In my judgment, to declare that the Church cannot inherit such Common Law, is to affirm that she cannot inherit Common Sense, and that she has no part or lot in the "Perfection of Reason," without first manifesting submission thereto by affirmative legislation, or some sort of equivalent or positive and specific recognition.

In the article under discussion, Mr. BURGWIN says that—  
 "Prior to the 4th of July, 1776, it goes without question that in all the Colonies, the Church, even when established by Law, was without organization, and consisted merely of ministers and congregations under the jurisdiction, more or less nominal, of the Bishop of London. Its members and congregations were all subject to the English Law, whether of Church or State, so far as applicable to their conditions and circumstances. There was no law-making power among themselves. The superior power which prescribed for them Rules of Ecclesiastical Conduct was the law-making power of the Church of England."

It will be observed that the fact is here conceded that the Church in the Colonies was "subject to the English Law" Ecclesiastical, "so far as applicable to their condition and circumstances," until "the 4th of July, 1776;" and "the superior power," essential to the learned writer's definition of Law, is also recognized in the extract quoted, as, up to this time, "the law-making power of the Church of England." Now, inasmuch as in an afterpart of his article, Mr. BURGWIN also concedes and asserts the undeniable proposition that "*laws once in force over an organization, must remain in force so long as its identity continues, unless they expire by limitation or are repealed by the law-making power,*" and inasmuch, moreover, as he nowhere claims that the Ecclesiastical Law so in force in the Colonies up to July 4th, 1776, ever expired by "limitation" or was "repealed by the law-making power," the present reader will naturally be curious to ascertain by what sort of manipulation he arrives at the conclusion that "no part of the English Ecclesiastical Law is or ever has been, as such, of binding obligation of this National Church of ours," which no human being can question is the successor of the Church as it existed in the Colonies.

Stated in brief, singularly enough, he accomplishes the extraordinary feat, apparently to his own satisfaction, in this wise:—

“*When the Colonies declared themselves independent and sovereign States, and until their independence was acknowledged by Great Britain, the Church here was in an abnormal condition, ecclesiastically in a state of chaos. \* \* \* There was no law-making power for them, either claiming to be or recognized as such.*”

Having convinced himself that at the time indicated the Colonial Church “was in a state of chaos” and that “there was no law-making power for them,” he seems to conclude that they had no Law, and that this condition of things lasted until the National Church Organization was accomplished in 1789, which “assumed legislative power”; when the question as to “how much of the English Ecclesiastical Law was common to the different State Churches” and “how much of this, if any, was to go in force as the law governing them all, could in the nature of things be determined only by their united action expressed by *affirmative legislation* in General Convention.”

In other words, Mr. BURGWIN'S argument amounts to this, that while Laws “once in force” over the Church “organization” in the Colonies, [for notwithstanding he says the Church was “without organization,” yet he admits that there were “ministers and congregations,” etc., which condition to some extent involved “organization,”]—his argument, I say, amounts to this, that “while Laws once in force” over the Church, “must remain in force so long as its identity continues, unless they expire by limitation or are repealed by the law-making power,” yet “when the Colonies declared themselves independent,” on the 4th of July, 1776, the Laws up to that time “in force over” the Church therein, (although theretofore “prescribed by superior or law-making power,”) *at once*, and by the mysterious magic of *the Declaration of Independence*, collapsed, and no longer remained in force; and this, notwithstanding there is no pretence that “they expired by limitation or were repealed by the law-making power.”

Verily, I am not prepared to concede such potency to the Secular Power, or to acts of the State, over the Laws of the Church. The idea that *the Declaration of Independence*, by the State, had the effect of repealing and trailing in “chaotic” dust Laws of the Church “prescribed by

superior or law-making power," and sanctified and sanctioned by Mother Church of the centuries going before,—the idea that the Declaration of Independence had such effect, is certainly an original one, and the logic of which, if pursued, would lead to the Erastianism of the most pronounced English Law-Churchmanship.

The Laws of the Church are not, and never have been, subject to any such convulsive tortures. Once enacted or "prescribed by superior power," they "remain in force," whenever and as far as applicable, "so long as the identity" of the Church "continues, unless they expire by limitation or are repealed by the law-making power." The Church in the Colonies had no quarrel with the Mother Church, and resorted to no revolution. Her independence resulted only in the way of accommodating herself to the change in civil government, and to the recognition of the "powers that be" in the State, as the Church has always done. But there followed no disruption of her Catholicity; no severance of spiritual ties; no overthrow of her applicable Laws, and it may be added, so far as the Common Law is concerned, no inter-regnum of her law-making power.

The error in the hypothesis as to the non-existence of a "superior or law-making power" of the Colonial Church after July 4, 1776, until the organization of the National Church in 1789, is, that it proceeds upon the theory that such "superior or law-making power" must have been one capable of enacting *written laws*; whereas, as has been seen, Common Law is the creature of no such creator, but of the Wisdom, Experience and Common Custom of the ages; which "superior or law-making power," the Declarators of Independence left in undisturbed authority, both in Church and State.

But if, for the argument, it be conceded that "there was no law-making power" in the Colonial Church, at the time and as alleged, and even if the definition of Law, given in the article referred to, as "a Rule of Conduct prescribed by superior or law-making power," be not relaxed; still the conclusion that there was no Ecclesiastical Law obligation in the Colonial Church, at this time, *because* "there was no law-making power," is a *non-sequitur*, inasmuch as it is *admitted* and cannot be denied that at the time the Ecclesiastical Law in force in such Colonial Church until July 4th, 1776, was "*prescribed*" there *was* the "superior or law-making power," possessing even the *legislative* authority which seems to be the *sine qua non* of Mr. BURGWIN'S

definition and theory. The definition given does not require that "the law-making power" which "prescribed" the "Rule of Conduct" should remain a *continuing* one, so that it might keep on "prescribing." It is enough that there was the "law-making power" when the "Rule of Conduct" was "*prescribed.*" When "prescribed" according to the very terms of the Definition, the "Rule of Conduct" became "Law"; and, being Law, it remained in force, and still so remains, unless it has expired by limitation" or been "repealed by the law-making power," which no one pretends. Thus the *Definition* is filled; so that, even if the Definition is of itself a Higher Law than must stand in spite of Common Sense, still we find that the Ecclesiastical Law of England, thus "prescribed," so far as not inapplicable, must also stand, and in fact did stand erect in the Colonial Church, all along, *in spite of the Definition*, and in spite of the Declaration of Independence as well.

Yet, if it be necessary to the binding force of the Ecclesiastical Law of England in this Church, that it should be affirmatively adopted or recognized by our "superior or law-making power"—still, even that condition is supplied. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer was adopted by the General Convention of 1789—at least, was "originated" and "proposed" by the House of Bishops, and with their "concurrence" was referred by the House of Deputies to the Committee "appointed to superintend the publication" of such Book then "about to be issued by the Convention." See Bishop WHITE'S Journals, pp. 84, 91; and Bishop PERRY'S reprint of the Journal, Vol. 1, pp. 110, 121. The Preface thus originated and "proposed" by the House of Bishops, and at least tacitly concurred in by the Lower House, and thus referred to the publication Committee, and printed with the Prayer Book, has been acquiesced in without any substantial alterations from that time to the present. In this Preface it is solemnly declared, that "*this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, DISCIPLINE, or worship, or further than local circumstances require.*" It is also therein declared, that "in every Church, *what cannot be clearly determined to belong to Doctrine MUST BE REFERRED TO DISCIPLINE;*" which, I need not argue, embraces *Law*.

It follows, *a priori*, that the National Church has, from

the first, gone forth, bearing on her very fore-front the asseveration and pledge that she "is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point" of *Ecclesiastical Law*, "further than local circumstances require." Surely, this is more than a "tacit adoption," by the "superior or law-making power" of this Church of both the Common and Canon Law of the Church of England. It is a refusal to depart from, and hence an *avowal to adhere* to that Law, which, if not otherwise, thereby became for us "a rule of conduct prescribed by superior or law-making power."

More than this, at the General Convention of 1808, on May 19th, "the Deputies from the Church in Maryland informed the House (of Deputies), that they were instructed by the Convention of said Church, to call the attention of the Convention to the expediency of *adopting the English Canon* concerning marriages, and inserting the same in future editions of the Book of Common Prayer," etc. Now, the Canon referred to is the 99th of the Canons of 1603, entitled, "None to Marry within the Degrees Prohibited," (See 1 Gibson's Codex, 499, 4 Burn's Ecc'l Law, 659,) which forbids marriages "within the degrees prohibited by the Laws of God, and expressed in a Table set forth by Authority in the year of our Lord God "1563," and which was so set forth in accordance with the prohibitions of Henry VIII., Chap. 22, and 28 *Id.*, Chap. 7. "In consequence of the above communication, the House adopted the following resolutions.

"*Resolved* that the communication from the Convention of the Church in Maryland, on the subject of the English Canon concerning marriages, be referred to the House of Bishops, with a request that they will consider the same, if they deem it expedient, during the present or some future Convention, and will make any communication to this House which they may deem proper."—Bishop White's Journals, 249; Bishop Perry's Reprint. Vol. I., pp. 341-2.

At the same session of the General Convention, the House of Bishops took the following important action on the subject, which is quoted from their proceedings had on January 21st, 1808:

"The House of Bishops, having taken into consideration the message sent to them by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, relative to the subject of marriage, as connected with the table of degrees, within which, according



to the Canons of the Church of England, marriage cannot be celebrated, observe as follows :

*"Agreeably to the sentiment entertained by them in relation TO THE WHOLE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM THEY CONSIDER THAT TABLE AS NOW OBLIGATORY ON THIS CHURCH, AND AS WHAT WILL REMAIN SO, UNLESS THERE SHALL HERE-AFTER APPEAR CAUSE TO ALTER IT,* without departing from the Word of God, or endangering the peace and good order of this Church."*—Bishop White's Journals, 259; 1 Bishop Perry's Journals, 355.*

The same day this message was read in the House of Deputies, when no dissenting voice was heard, and it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the latter House concurred in the views expressed; but whether they did or did not is of no very great importance, inasmuch as the College of Bishops, as has been shown, are in reality the "superior or law-making power," whose interpretation of the Laws comes with authority.

So we have here the clear and unmistakable declaration of the House of Bishops, that they hold "*the whole ecclesiastical system*" of the Church of England, (of course including the Common Law Ecclesiastical and the Canons of 1603,) so far as applicable to our circumstances, and not superseded by our own legislation, "*obligatory on this Church, and as what will remain so, unless there shall hereafter appear cause to alter it,*" etc.

This sustains the theory of the present paper to the fullest extent, and is an emphatic negation of the positions assumed in the article under discussion.

But again:—The General Convention, at the session held in 1814, adopted and put forth the declaration:—

\* \* \* "That 'the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America' is the same Body heretofore known in these States, by the name of the 'Church of England'; the change of name, although *not* of religious principle and doctrine, or in worship, *or in discipline*, being induced by a characteristic of the Church of England, supposing the independence of the Christian Churches, under the different sovereignties, to which, respectively, their allegiance in civil concerns belongs. But that, when the severance alluded to took place, and ever since, *this Church conceives of herself as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England*, is evident from the organization of our Conventions, and from their subsequent proceedings, as recorded in the journals; to which,

accordingly, this Convention refers for satisfaction in the premises. But it would be contrary to fact were anyone to infer that the *discipline exercised* in this Church, or that any proceedings therein, are at all dependent on the will of the civil or of the ecclesiastical authority of any foreign country."—Bishop White's Journals, 310—11, 295; also Bishop Perry's Reprint of the Journals, Vol. I, pp. 431, 409.

Thus, while the Convention was careful to guard against any possible inference that either "the civil or the Ecclesiastical authority of any foreign country" could in any way meddle with "the *discipline exercised* in this Church," yet the declaration is clear beyond cavil that there was *no "change" in the "discipline" itself, to be exercised*, and not only so, but that "this Church conceives herself *as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England.*" If any one can explain how we can retain "the discipline" and "profess and act on the principles of the Church of England," and reject her Laws, so far as applicable here, it must be done by a process of metaphorical ground and lofty tumbling that will amaze ordinary athletes in logic.

But Mr. BURGWIN, ignoring the action of the Convention of 1808, wrestles with this Declaration of 1814, and says of it that "whatever weight may properly be attached to the declaration of *the General Convention* in 1814, it is more than counterbalanced by a resolution of *the same Body* in 1789; even though the latter did not receive the assent of Bishop WHITE, 'that the Protestant Episcopal Church possesses no institutions, until made for her especially, and that we are no further bound by *either the Catholic or the English Canons when confessedly applicable*, than as we distinctly and by legislation recognize them.'"

The reader will not fail to observe that this resolution undertakes to demolish the authority not merely of the English but of "the Catholic Canons," as well,—that is, the Canons of the Undisputed General Councils, accepted by the Church of the entire Christian world,—even "when confessedly applicable."—Utterly amazed at such monstrous doctrine, (and which Mr. BURGWIN himself condemns, as shown by his article,) and having been unable to find any such resolution in the proceedings of either House of the General Convention of 1789, or of any other session, notwithstanding the most diligent search through both Bishop WHITE'S Journals and Bishop PERRY'S edition,

I asked Mr. BURGWIN, by letter, where an account of the passage of the resolution could be found, who in reply kindly referred me to "VINTON'S Manual of Canon Law," page 15, for an account of the resolution referred to, at which place it stated that "*the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies*, in A.D. 1789," "set forth this view." Of course, it was a slip of the pen, or else an oversight, that led my distinguished friend to write that "the Declaration of the *General Convention* in 1814, is more than counterbalanced by a Resolution of the *same Body*" [*sic!*] "in 1789"; for he never intended thus to magnify the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies."

More than this, if my eminent friend had only rubbed up his spectacles, and read at the foot of the same page in the Manual referred to, he would have found that Bishop WHITE said of this Resolution, that "If the matter had been so understood at the close of the Revolutionary War, and there had been among us such spirits, as I can now designate, IT WOULD HAVE TORN US TO PIECES." [See also, for this statement of Bishop WHITE, Hoffman's Law of the Church, 37, or the Appendix to Wilson's Life of that Bishop, 347.] And, again, if Mr. BURGWIN had given his spectacles a second rub and read on the very next page of the Manual, he would have there found that this opinion of "the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies" did *not* prevail, and that "*It was opposed to that of the House of Bishops in that General Convention, and to that of both Houses in the previous and subsequent Conventions: and, being confined to the one House, and not, at any time, pursued afterwards, it may not be considered as having prevailed in the Church.*"

But, returning to the direct and affirmative line of argument, attention is now called to the fact that the Papal authority in England was wholly abolished by acts of Parliament in the years 1533, 1534 and 1536, (25 Henry VIII., ch. 22; 26 *Id.*, ch. 2; and 28 *Id.*, ch. 10;) and yet the Foreign Laws, or "what we commonly call the Body of the Canon Law, consisting of the Canons of Councils, Decrees of Popes, and the like, which obtained in England, by virtue of their own authority, (in like manner as they did in other parts of the Western Church,) till the time of the Reformation, from that time have continued" in force in the Church of England where no other rules are provided, unless foreign to the English Constitution, or

contrary to English laws.—Gibson's Codex, Introductory Discourse, p. xxviii.

In the Preface of this most valuable work, the author remarks, on this subject, that,—

“*The Body of the Canon Law, which till the time of the Reformation remained a Rule to the Church of England, and, being received by long practice, remains so still, as to such parts of it as are not inconsistent with the Laws of the land. Upon that Foundation, and under this Restraint, it passes current in the proceedings of the Spiritual Courts.*”  
—Codex, Preface, p. xv.

“Upon that Foundation, and under this Restraint,” on every principle of legal analogy, *a fortiori*,—the written Law of the Church of England, as well as the Common Law Ecclesiastical, remains in force in this Church, “as to such parts of it as are not inconsistent with” our Laws, and not inapplicable to our circumstances.

In the case of *Lynd v. Menzies, et al.*, 33 N. J. Rep. (4 Vroom,) 162, 167, the Supreme Court of New Jersey, through Mr. Chief Justice BEASLEY, in a case involving the direct question as to what laws were obligatory in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, held that,—

“*The English Ecclesiastical Law, although somewhat modified by new circumstances, and by American usages and Statutes, continues the substantial basis of the Law controlling the affairs of this particular Church.*”

And the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in their opinion in the case of *Crump v. Morgan*, 3 Iredell's Eq., R., 91, 98, declare this doctrine:

“*The Canon and Civil Laws, as administered in the Ecclesiastical Courts of England, are parts of the Common Law,*” “*were brought here by our ancestors as parts of the Common Law, and have been adopted and used here in all cases to which they were applicable, and whenever there has been a tribunal exercising a jurisdiction to call for their use.*”

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, one of the greatest lawyers of his day, in arguing the case of the Rev. Cave Jones, asserted the following propositions:

“*No man could be permitted to say, that nothing was permitted or restrained as to any particular matter in a newly erected State, since its own immediate legislature had passed no law or ordinance respecting it.* The answer would be—THE LAW WHICH REGULATES IT IS PRIOR TO

THE EXISTENCE OF OUR STATE; IT COMES TO US BY INHERITANCE *from our fathers, and we brought it with us into this association.* SO IT IS WITH OUR ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT. In organizing and becoming members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, no one considered himself as becoming a member of a new religion, *or as adopting a different form or rules of Ecclesiastical Government,* except so far as depended upon the connection in England between Church and State, and the regulations of that country produced by the King's being the head of the Church. These were all necessarily rejected as being inapplicable to our situation; *but in every other respect, the Rules and Laws of the Mother Church, where they can be applied, are the Common Law of our own religious association.*"—Report of the case, etc., page 493, New York, 1813; Hoffman's Law of the Church, 38, Note.

All this is emphatically discordant with the views set forth in the article under consideration.

Judge HOFFMAN, in his "Law of the Church," says:

"I shall seek in this introduction to prove that *the Ecclesiastical Law of England has an actual force and operation in the system of our Church*—to point out the extent of that operation—its limits and qualifications. \* \* \* It is an *admitted maxim that the great body of the Common Law of England and of its Statute Law,* so far as adapted to the situation of the Colonies, *was brought to this land from the mother country,* and formed the basis of colonial law. Now *this great principle,* which pervaded every colony founded by Englishmen, *prevailed, in a particular sphere, wherever a Church, upon the basis of that of England, was established.* They who belonged to such a Church were members of that of England at the time of their arrival, or voluntarily joined it here. The proposition is, that *all members of the Church of England in the Colonies were subject to the Ecclesiastical Law of England, except where it was expressly altered or necessarily inapplicable.*" Law of the Church, pp. 14, 15.

It will not be questioned that this Ecclesiastical Law embraces, among other acts, the Canons of 1603. But, that there can be no doubt of Judge HOFFMAN'S intention to include those Canons in what is thus said by him, the reader is referred to pages 63 and 64 of the work mentioned. From the latter page the following quotation is made:

"I may state the result of these propositions: 1. *The English Canon Law governs, unless it is inconsistent with, or superseded by a positive institution of our own.* 2. Unless it is at variance with any civil law or doctrine of the State, either recognized by the Church, or not opposed to her principles. 3. Unless it is inconsistent with, or inapplicable to that position in which the Church in those States is placed."

That Dr. HAWKS maintained the same view, is clear from the following paragraph, to be found in his valuable work on the "Constitution and Canons," etc., at page 265:

"The opinions which were entertained in the Mother Country, and the decisions which had there been made on matters of Ecclesiastical Law or usage, up to the severance of these Colonies by the Revolution, were, as far as applicable, held to be the guide of the Church of England here; and though the Independence of the United States dissolved the connection, it evidently did not destroy the prevailing opinions among Churchmen, as to matters and usages touching the Church. Our branch of the Catholic Church, in establishing her system of polity, must therefore obviously have commenced her career with opinions, feelings and habits, all derived from her former association with the Church of England. *To the Common and Canon Law of England, we must therefore look, if we would fully understand the origin of much of the Law of our own Church.*"

HUGH DAVEY EVANS, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his day, was also one of the most profound Canonists that ornamented the history of the American Church. In "Theophilus Americanus," at pages 316 and 317, he has left on record his opinions upon the subject now in hand, and which are here quoted:

"*It is not easy to understand that a merely political revolution could have changed the Ecclesiastical Law.* So far as the supposed Ecclesiastical Law was connected with the relations of the Church to the British crown, or State, it was of course abrogated by the American Revolution. *But there is no reason why the ordinary Ecclesiastical Laws should have been changed by a political revolution,* more than the laws which regulate civil rights or civil contracts. A Revolution which puts an end to one government, and substitutes another, dissolves all *political* laws, and may dissolve all politico-ecclesiastical laws; *but it leaves untouched the ordinary laws of civil society. This is more especially clear, when, as in the case before us,*

*the new civil government refuses all connection with ecclesiastical affairs. Neither could the mere dissolution by mutual consent, of the relations between the Bishop of London and the American Churchmen, change the Law under which the latter lived. They must have remained under the authority of the purely Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of England, of which they had been part, until they were changed by competent authority. But, although they had Laws, they were without any efficient means of enforcing them."*

DR. FRANCIS VINTON, in his "Manual on Canon Law," also sustains to the fullest extent the positions assumed in this paper in regard to the obligation in this Church, of the Common and Written Law of the Church of England, (of course including the Canons of 1603,) so far as applicable and not superseded by enactments of our own. See pages 1 to 33, inclusive; particularly page 16, *et sequitur*, and the many authorities cited, which time and space will not permit to be given in this article. Among these citations are the opinions of Bishops WHITE and ODENHEIMER.

My references to opinions and authorities, in this regard, must close with the following extract from Bishop HOPKINS' "Law of Ritualism," pages 78 to 80, inclusive. The Bishop, as is well known, was a lawyer of great ability and learning, when he entered the Ministry. What is said by the great Bishop in this extract is so able, so masterly and convincing, and goes so directly and unerringly to the point, that I will be pardoned for the length of the quotation made. He says, (the italics being his own):

"It is a well-settled rule, in all our Courts of Justice, that every part of the *Common and Statute Laws of England*, which were in force throughout the Colonies, and adapted to their circumstances *before* the War of Independence, (with the single exception of what concerned the rights of the crown,) *continued* to be the Laws of the land, notwithstanding the Revolution, and are *still obligatory*, unless changed or done away by subsequent acts of our own legislation. Of that proposition there is, and can be, no doubt whatever.

"This well-known principle supplies the true *legal foundation*, on which our American Church can rest securely, without danger of mistake.

"Before the Revolution, the English Prayer Book was the Prayer Book of the Colonies, and the Rubric directing

the ornaments of the Church and her Ministers to be in accordance with the usage of the second year of Edward VI., was as binding in America as it was in England, though, in both, that Rubric had long been practically disregarded. All the other rules of the Church of England, belonged also to the Colonies, because the Church was the *same Church*, having the same doctrines, the same forms, the same discipline in every respect, notwithstanding the fact that the Colonial Churches, under the force of circumstances, were not enabled to carry them into full execution, having no Bishops, nor organized Dioceses, nor Cathedral services. Nevertheless the *Law* was there, and so far as Law was concerned, there was no difference.

"If then, the Laws of England, (with the single exception stated) continued to be the Laws of the United States after the Revolution, save only so far as they were changed or superseded by *actual legislation*, much more does the principle apply to the Church of Christ, whose "kingdom is not of this world." For in the Church, there was *no Revolution*. The Church in the Colonies did not seek to separate her ministers or members from their Mother; nor claim her independence by any revolt against the spiritual authority from which she derived her very being. And therefore when she asked for an independent ecclesiastical organization, she did it on the ground of *necessity*, after England had acknowledged the *political independence* of the United States, and a treaty of peace had been ratified between their respective governments. The request thus dutifully made, was received most graciously. Our Mother Church not only admitted the validity of the plea, but cheerfully granted the application. The Parliament passed a law for the special purpose of consecrating our first three American Bishops; and thus, with magnanimous kindness and true Christian Sympathy, they enabled us to commence our new career.

"Having now become an independent Church, we acquired, of course, the power to legislate for ourselves, as completely as the United States possessed authority to make their laws, and alter them at pleasure. And as the Law of England *before* the Revolution continued to be the Law of the United States *after* the Revolution, until it was done away by the exercise of this independent power, even so the Law of the Church of England continues to be our Law to this day, so far as it has not been superseded by positive ecclesiastical legislation.



“For as we have seen in the quotation from Dr. LUSHINGTON himself, ‘No statute can be affected by *non-usage*.’ It needs the authority of the legislature itself to alter what the legislature has established. No other power but that which creates can destroy the Law. The *omission* to legislate cannot alter the Law. The neglect to obey it cannot alter the Law. The creation of a prejudice against it cannot alter the Law. In a word, no Law can be deprived of its binding obligation, until some other Law is passed, which, of necessity, does it away.

“All this is so manifest to the slightest reflection, that I should be ashamed to set it forth in such detail, if the very common misconception of many amongst my most highly esteemed brethren did not seem to render the explanation necessary.

One more matter, and I shall have done.

In respect to the Canons of 1603 Mr. BURGWIN says:—

“I stop a moment only to propose, in parenthesis, a text as to the tenability of the position assumed by these eminent Canonists. — The eighteenth Canon of 1603 directs that due and lowly reverence be made when (not merely in Creed but) in Divine Service, the LORD JESUS shall be mentioned. Is this the law of our Church now or not? If it is, then a clergyman, at least, may be tried and convicted for disobeying its mandate. But Chancellor Judd says it is the law now, unless it be shown to have been repealed, which is not pretended, and Judge Hoffman says it is the law now, unless shown affirmatively to be repugnant to some principle, settled custom, or institution of our own, which likewise I think will not be asserted.”

To the question, “Is this the Law of our Church now or not?”—I reply emphatically that it *is* “the law of our Church now”; and whether a clergyman may or may not be “tried and *convicted* for disobeying its mandate” makes no manner of difference. A Law is a *Law*, whether it can be *enforced* or not. A Law is no less a Law, because it is not obeyed. The Law is that “Thou shalt have none other gods but me”; but suppose we do have “other gods,” (and I very much fear that some of us do;) and suppose, also, that one cannot be “tried and *convicted*” of disobedience,—would the command be any less the Law?

But the mandate that “when in time of Divine Service the LORD JESUS shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present,” does not

depend alone upon the Canon of 1603 for its authority. The inspired Apostle S. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians, (II. 9, 10, 11,) says:—"Wherefore GOD also hath highly exalted Him, and given him a Name which is above every name: *That at the Name of JESUS every knee should bow; \* \* \** and that every tongue should confess that JESUS CHRIST IS LORD, to the glory of GOD the Father." And we ought to remember (though some of us seem to forget) that "All Scripture is given by inspiration of GOD," etc., (II. Tim., iii, 16.). Now could "a clergyman be tried and convicted for disobeying" this mandate of Holy Scripture, which, in substance, is the same as that of the Canon of 1603 referred to? If not, would the fact be any "test as to the" inspiration and binding authority of the mandate? But let us quote that part of the Canon alluded to, with what immediately follows:—

"And, likewise, when in time of Divine Service the LORD JESUS shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed; *testifying by these outward Ceremonies and Gestures, their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the LORD JESUS CHRIST, the true and eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the World, in whom alone all the Mercies, Graces and Promises of God to mankind, for this Life and the Life to come, are fully and wholly comprised.*"  
4 Burn's Eccl. Law, 636.

This portion of the Canon is founded on the 52nd of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, issued in 1559; and in what complete harmony is it with the command and the reason therefore given by the inspired Apostle in the quotation made. And how befitting and appropriate is it that we should not be ashamed "to confess that JESUS CHRIST is LORD, to the glory of GOD the Father," and that we should "testify by these outward ceremonies and gestures" our "inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the LORD JESUS, the true and eternal Son of GOD, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom *alone* all the mercies, graces and promises of GOD to mankind, for this Life and the Life to come, are fully and wholly comprised." Is there anything out of the way in all this? Is there aught to alarm? Is there anything in it from which to argue that the command is not obligatory? Are any of us fearful of rendering too much honor and worship to the dear LORD JESUS?

The truth is, that many otherwise good Church people

have not the least idea of Worship with the Body (so frequently emphasized in both the Old and New Testament,) except in the way of kneeling in prayer and doing a sort of perfunctory reverence at the mention of the Holy Name in the Creed. And even this reverence is too often done without any conception of its meaning, and more often without the slightest apprehension of the fact that even to this extent, they are obeying the mandate of the Canon. And some do not obey at all, consciously or unconsciously. They are a "stiff-necked people." This class, (for the most part ignorant in Churchmanship and rabid in prejudices) will *not* obey the mandate, because they are always suspicious that there is a *Romish* "mouse in the meal-tub." Lord BACON says that "Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds; they always fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed." The disgusting stupidity that is ever suspicious of something *Romish*, is near akin to the battishness which flies best by that twilight nearest to total darkness.

S. CORNING JUDD.

## THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

**T**HERE can be few lovers of their kind who do not hail with unusual delight the rapidly developing interest in this great moral question, both in the Church of England and, more recently, in her daughter-church in this country.

Other bodies of Christians have nobly expended their zeal and wealth; and some, in their ardor, have even charged their slower brethren with being laggards in philanthropy if not bankrupt in just appreciation of the woes of intemperance; but at last a broader basis for mutual, if not united, labor has been discovered. Partisanship and sectarianism, recrimination and imputation of questionable motives, and even the politics of the hour have all been exorcised as being too intemperate allies in such high and holy enterprise as is the temperance reform. Like all other great moral movements, so this has had to pass through its first stages of agitation, attack, enthusiasm and reaction, till the last state is worse than the first unless fundamental principles, and the power to deal with men as they are, can be kept in view. A larger, and more generous and more appreciative liberality has long been needed. Failures, or, unsatisfactory successes, have driven the host of the Lord into one camp, or, at

least, towards fewer issues and to wider because wiser plans. Aaron and Hur have proved themselves chief captains in their day and generation, but, somehow, they cannot beat the Amalekites alone. They are bound to prevail, we trust, by teaching Moses as far as their hard won experience and unquestioned devotion can teach, how to hold up his hands in this greater battle than that at Rephidim.

The altar of victory cannot be built and named "Jehovah-nissi" until all good men and true join hands; and they will join forces, and conquer too, when all discover that Jehovah-nissi means, "The Lord" (and not man) is our banner.

Some eight years ago the Church of England Temperance Society was organized on the broad basis of union and corporation, on perfectly equal terms, of those who use and those who abstain from intoxicating drinks. Everybody was to be enlisted. The evils of intemperance were felt to be so gigantic, the discomfitures of those who would arrest them were so patent and humiliating that a rally all along the line was imperatively called for. Forty-five millions of barrels, at least, of malt liquors were the almost impregnable breast-work behind which vested rights, and ingrained habits, and what is called "necessary stimulants," were intrenched. The Englishman's love of beer is known to amount to a sort of physical superstition. The various stronger drinks, like the rearguard of an army, allowed few stragglers to escape, and had not long to wait for their helpless prey. Even the Church of God seemed, like a beleaguered army, to be in immediate peril, and, to a great degree, deserted by the masses of men in the large manufacturing centres.

Hence, the old Church comes to the rescue with Nelson's signal, "and *every man*, (as far as possible) is expected to do his duty." Of course it was claimed, at first, by ardent temperance advocates, that nothing but total abstinence would win, and that oil and water would mix sooner than the strictly temperate and the teetotaler.

But what is the result to-day? Why, the two old friends, who were always friends, who had hitherto been forced apart by mistaken enthusiasts, have worked in perfect harmony. Indeed, the very thing which appeared to be a probable cause of discord has contributed largely to their present success. For each was set to do his own most congenial work on broader and unconflicting lines of

labor. The total abstainer could work most successfully in reforming the intemperate non-abstainers, while the strictly temperate man could accomplish his best service in the work of legislation, and in establishing the famous coffee-taverns, of which more will be said by and by.

The Queen was secured as the patron of the society and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for its presidents, and any number of Dukes and others of the nobility are among its officers and members. Its objects are the promotion of temperance, the reformation of the intemperate, and the removal of the causes which lead to intemperance.

The noble minded Bishop of Manchester, who is not a total abstainer, is, for instance, the president of the Church of England Temperance Society in his diocese. Three hundred and fifty of his five hundred clergy are members, and, of these, two hundred and fifty are total abstainers.

On a given Sunday in each year they all preach on the subject. In addition to this, the General Secretary, who is now visiting in this country, holds a nine days' session in every deanery, of which there are twenty-three in the diocese, each deanery numbering from twenty to fifty parishes.

This devoted Secretary goes about on week-days addressing manufacturers and operatives on the fiscal side of the question, and inaugurating discussions and meetings in every place.

Rescue of the inebriate is thus thoroughly prosecuted. Prevention is regarded as the most important part of the work; and the formation of sound public opinion among all classes is already manifest in diminishing beer-houses. Parents pledge themselves to bring up their children to temperate habits. The Rector of the Parish is *ex-officio* President of each local society, and even "High Church," "Low Church," and "Broad Church" are threatened with amalgamation, if not annihilation, as such born leaders of men of different parties as the Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Manchester, teach their vying hosts to contend for that temperance in all things which is the foe to all party strife.

In Ireland the grog-shops are already closed on Sunday wherever the Church of England has sway, and, notwithstanding that Canon Wilberforce, Vicar of Southampton, son of the late Bishop Wilberforce, at a great Church of England temperance meeting in London, spoke, not long ago, of "the abominable indifference of the Christian

Church;" still, an overwhelming vote was recently cast in the House of Commons to close the tipping-shops in Wales. The certain adoption of a similar law for England is confidently and speedily looked for. The passage of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's resolution by Parliament, in favor of the right of the people to prohibition in their several localities, by popular vote, shows how the current is tending.

Mr. Gladstone has also pledged the government to bring in a bill to carry out the clearly expressed will of the House of Commons.

In the larger towns and cities, and even in the smaller villages, organizations, auxiliary to the Church of England society, have been formed. And thus, and in every possible way, this foremost of the nations is working towards the van in one of the greatest moral and religious movements since the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

The difficulties of the question are fully realized, political complications are studiously avoided, the mistakes that inhere in all first battles have been studied, and digested, and forgiven, and the exact meaning of the word "temperance" is quietly insisted on. It is carefully distinguished from the exaggerations of total abstinence and teetotalism and all other "isms" which have given offence, and with which the friends of the temperance cause were handicapped. And, while every assistance is welcomed in dealing with particular cases, at the same time the same bitter pill is not forced down every convert's throat, and the violence of sumptuary laws, and the prohibition of all co-operation, on the part of strictly temperate men, has been shunned. Social influences, and moral suasions, and the supports which the Church of God offers, have been magnified. Hence our hopefulness; hence our thankfulness as we look, for a good example, across the Atlantic, to a people that is older, and, therefore, ought to be wiser than their children's children.

The present condition of the temperance question in this country partakes a little of the nature of an armed truce. The forces of the liquor interest are resting complacently on their arms, entrenched, and waiting for any new developments. They have won, as they think, almost every battle, and yet they fear, and well they may, the undaunted persistence of their foes.

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again,  
The eternal years of God are hers."

In some of the States active operations are in progress for the coming campaign. In nearly all of the States the temperance question is a prominent element demanding an answer which politicians are obliged to take into their account.

In Iowa, for instance, an effort is being made to amend the Constitution so as to forever prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors for drinking purposes. One legislature has passed it, but it requires and will receive another vote the present winter. Of course extraordinary efforts are being made to prevent the passage of the amendment.

In Ohio there is a very strong interest stirring to carry constitutional prohibition. The Republican State Convention has lately adopted a resolution for submitting to the people a proposition to remit to the legislature the whole question of liquor traffic. This looks like an evasion, for the Constitution of Ohio now contains a clause which prohibits the granting of license to the liquor trade. It is already a part of the organic law of the State, and doubtless a bitter conflict is impending, for if public sentiment could be so roused as to make the dead letter of the law a living issue, the result would be a prohibitory plank in the platform of the dominant party which they must maintain or suffer defeat.

In North Carolina prohibition has just received overwhelming defeat. The vote of the ignorant colored people seems to have brought about the result. They were easily manipulated by the adroit leaders of the whisky interest, and after what is called a "still hunt," which was not for "Stills," they won, although opposed by assemblies, synods, conferences, and conventions which labored in vain to lead public opinion.

In other Southern States the question is, just now, a dead issue. After the notable failure in North Carolina it will probably remain in *statu quo* until education and Christianity can leaven those who act like "dumb driven cattle in the strife."

In the New England States various conditions prevail. Maine still boasts of her famous law, although leading Congregational divines assert that it is a sieve which will not hold anything but water from being worried down the throat of her persistent lovers of stimulants. In Massachusetts, says the Boston *Advertiser* of the current week, "the law relating to sale of strong drink is openly



violated in the city of Boston every hour of the day and night. The police are unwilling to appear against the law breakers. The courts discourage prosecutions. The licensed liquor dealers take no interest, and public opinion is apathetic."

In New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island we have not yet heard of the man who could not "treat" his thirsty friend to any "straight," or "mixed," or "crooked" beverage he, for the moment, fancied.

The inoperative license laws only add a little more to the cost of each glass, while each friend of the rum-seller feels obliged to drink a little more in order to help pay the tax.

That the law could arrest the evil, if public sentiment would sustain it, is evident from the general good behavior and moderation manifested in our cities and towns on election days. A few striped pigs and other varieties are used as bait for the thirsty on such days, but staggering men are pretty generally repressed on these law abiding voting days.

It may not be amiss to repeat a few of the well worn statistics which too coldly sum up the innumerable woes of which strong drink is the father.

These figures are taken from official documents issued by the United States Treasury Department and by the New York Legislature during the last ten years, and, as they were made up in the earlier part of the decade, must be far within the mark.

The Treasury books show that there were imported in a single year, of liquors, wines and cordials	- - - - -	Galls. 13,581,302
Retail cost at 10 cents a glass, or \$6 per gallon	- - - - -	\$81,487,812
Domestic liquors were distilled during the same period to the amount of	- - - - -	Galls. 62,300,000
Retail cost of this at \$6 per gallon	- - - - -	\$373,800,000
Of fermented liquors (one-third of which was brewed in New York)	- - - - -	Bbbs. 7,000,000
Retail cost, at 10 cents a pint, or \$24 a barrel	- - - - -	\$168,000,000

The direct yearly cost, therefore, to the people of this country for intoxicating beverages may be stated thus :

For imported liquors - - - -	\$81,487,812
For domestic distilled - - - -	373,800,000
For fermented - - - - -	168,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$623,287,812

Of this ocean of fiery drink the State of New York is estimated to consume about a seventh part, and thus bears an annual liquor tax of \$80,000,000.

It is estimated that about 500,000 able bodied persons are withdrawn from useful industries, and occupied in manufacturing or selling ardent drinks.

The waste of grain, fruits, etc., with cost of manufacturing alcohol, - - - -	\$50,000,000
Losses of productive industry to the country of drunkards and tipplers, - - - -	\$225,000,000
Support of 800,000 drunken paupers and children, - - - - -	\$100,000,000
Expenses for intemperate sick, and funeral charges of 60,000 drunkards dying annually, - - - - -	unknown
Whole expense caused by 300,000 intemperate criminals, - - - -	unknown
Value of all the domestic suffering, shame, and agony caused by rum, - - - -	beyond estimate
Value of 100,000 American youth, deteriorated, corrupted, and brutalized more or less by drink every year, - - - -	known only in eternity

Careful statisticians tell us that the costs and resultant desolations from intoxicating drinks are over *Twelve Hundred Millions of dollars* in these United States, annually. They say two hundred thousand liquor dealers are getting control of our government. Like the mighty coils of the serpent in the old fable of Laocoon, even so the mightier spirals of the Still are tightening around a nation and its Church.

The very figures are so large that the mind does not take them in. Those who repeat them are in danger of being called "exaggerators," or worse; and so intemperance of speech, at least, is proved against one side or both, in the discussion.

Certainly, the woes of a single drunkard's wife and family,—and every village has one, if no more,—are enough to rouse all, both temperate and intemperate, to immediate action.

A glance at a few of the more salient points of defeat, where help is to-day wanted, may win some interest, from those who love, and from those who do not love "the bottle," to induce them to watch, and, perhaps, to help arrest this pouring out of one of the worst possible "vials of wrath" upon the seat of the beast whose kingdom is full of darkness, and "they gnawed their tongues for pain and repented not of their deeds." (Rev. 16, 10.)

First among the causes of partial, if not total, failure of the friends of temperance is the narrowness and (pardon me, but truth compels me to say) the bigotry with which its claims have been pressed down men's throats, totally regardless of the rights of even an unenlightened conscience, or a slow-going public opinion. The intemperance of so-called temperance men, intemperance of speech, intemperance of action, has been a chief cause why the biggest of big devils has done anything but tremble. No wonder good men got excited, and almost raved at sight of delirium tremens, and broken hearted wives, and hopeless little ones that they saw and could not induce everybody to see.

When a house is on fire, we must cry "fire," and shout for water; but we must do more; we must temperately repress our natural disposition to insist on it that every man is a villain, and tell him so if he is lame, or blind, or slow, or actively engaged in fighting other fires that will at least aid in arresting the particular conflagration in which we are more particularly interested. The sons of Zebedee lost their temper and called down fire from heaven in their zeal, but they forgot, and had to be told, that "whosoever is not against us is on our part." Omnipotence works slowly and with the poorest and most varied instrumentalities sometimes, and our hopefulness for the glorious cause of temperance to-day is based on the wider recognition of this principle. We want the co-operation of all men in such a task, not the aggrandizement or glorification of a few. Unchristianizing our brethren is the way in which Satan loves to work. Preaching that it is a sin or crime to drink a glass of wine, in every case and for every man, is not preaching the truth, and, certainly, is not preaching temperance. It may lead to sin. It often does. It is, in many cases, inexpedient. It is, in some circumstances, a sin; but such sweeping charges only alienate would-be friends, or discourage those whose help we need.

The separation of the cause of Temperance, as a sepa-

rate and distinct branch of moral reform, and thus superseding or slighting the grace of God in His Church, which is His appointed method of saving men through Christ Jesus our Lord—this has wrought infinite mischief. I am now speaking not of any particular Church (alas! that I have to guard my words) but of the great body of Christian believers, and I ask affectionately if this putting the Church, with its Divine sanctions, and historic powers, and Holy Ghost, in the back ground, while we bring to the front all sorts of substitutes, is not another error of judgment, at least, in this mighty conflict?

Why, even the man of one idea must begin to see, after so many failures, that we have got to have the help of God Almighty. The Hon. F. W. Bird in his paper, on the "Unrestricted Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks," read before the Social Science Association, concludes, after looking into the working of the many license and prohibitory laws in operation in the State of Massachusetts for two hundred and fifty years, that he had found them to be little better than dead letters. All were tentative and experimental. From 1852 to 1858 the friends of prohibition had full sway and had discovered that prohibition does not prohibit.

Temperance in drink is not the only temperance. It has to be repeated. There is temperance in eating, temperance in smoking, temperance in dress, temperance in speech, temperance in sleeping, temperance in money-making. Thousands of our boys are to-day learning, all unconsciously, how to give every appetite advantage, as they are stimulated at every dinner with too highly seasoned dishes, with pepper soups and rich desserts, and too much salted bread and butter. Alack-a-day! "Bridget" has more to answer for than she ever confesses to any body. Little does the patient soul dream that Aristotle said, "*σωφροσύνη, μεσότης περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπας.*"

Speech-making, and story-telling, and pledging have been tried most persistently, and God be thanked for it. Laws that were a generation ahead of the communities for which they were framed, have been most laboriously enacted; but why go out any longer to meet this army of Goliaths with only a part of the armor that is provided? Why not take what the God of the armies of Israel has consecrated and add to it, if need require, as David did, Goliath's sword and so cut off Goliath's head? I shall have more to say about Goliath's sword presently.

What I would ask the friends of temperance now to consider is whether we cannot secure an advance along the whole line by rousing with more reasonable and discriminating methods the whole Church of God, instead of leading over lost battle grounds a battalion or two to new defeat.

I claim that all men, even the drunkard and rum-seller, see the evils of unlimited drink and the bestiality, and murders, and divorces, and wrongs unavoidably connected with it. Of course they love the fortunes amassed so rapidly by the traffic, but they hate the canker that clings to their dollars. Few of them will not say that they love men and fear God enough to agree with S. Augustine who wrote :

“Drunkenness is a pleasant devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin which whosoever doth commit committeth not a single sin, but becomes the centre and slave of all manner of sin,” and therefore, I insist on it that a broader and more inclusive battle-field than the old Gettysburgs or Waterloos be secured.

Of course, no reasonable effort is to be discouraged ; no backslider to be committed to “uncovenanted mercies,” no rumseller, even, to be delivered to Satan by us, inasmuch as we may not be allowed in our own strength “to deliver the goods”: but by rejuvenating many of the old methods we may offend none and recover more.

There is the physiological argument, for instance, which has not been told as it will bear telling everywhere and over and over again. The sure deterioration of the family, if not of the individual, who is addicted to strong drink, is proof patent to any observing man. Chemical analysis is not requisite to demonstrate it. By making more of the study of hygiene and physiology in our public schools the twig can be bent in the way in which the tree will incline. It is an argument that goes without the excitement of public addresses and reaches the masses who rarely go to hear them.

Many an honest dealer (and we believe there are such) in the lighter wines and such liquors as are used medically or commercially, would like to change his business, so nefarious has it become, and so obvious is it becoming that the curse of heaven is on its abuses.

This argument from physiology has unsuspected cogency with the more intelligent classes, and needs but little assistance to make it irresistible to all reasoning men.

The well known and increasing skill in adulterating spirituous beverages is not the least of the inducements to caution, if not to abstinence in their use. "Kerosene" is the common term given to the vile stuff, which indicates the growing suspicion that the drinker is being slowly but miserably poisoned.

This is a clear case of overreaching himself by the Prince of this world, and the best of it is he cannot stop such adulteration, because it is so money-making. We may therefore confidently hope that reform may reach regions not yet included in our observatory, for when—

"The devil is sick, the devil a saint would be."

Man is an animal that craves stimulants of some sort. We may not leave out this well known characteristic in our attempt to manage his appetite. Man also needs amusements. If he cannot get them in one way he always seeks them in another.

I would argue, therefore, for a substitution of harmless beverages and more attractive amusements.

Such stimulants and agreeable mixtures as tea, and coffee, and chocolate, and lemonade soothe but do not inebriate.

Indeed, the largest hope has been recently kindled by the very successful Coffee-Tavern-Music-Halls in England and in this country. The wonder is that more is not made of them.

These Halls have actually been established on a paying basis for eighteen years in parts of London. They are decided improvements on our usually repulsive and often failing temperance saloons. And the reason for such failure is obvious; for, although originating in the noblest motives, they attempt to deal with man, as he is not, and not as he is. They attempt to compete, without music, and with a scrupulous fear of any sort of amusement, with the brilliantly lighted and heated drinking-saloon, where music and games and song make resistless attractions.

These Coffee-Music-Halls have adopted and improved upon all the good features and attractions of the wiser "children of this world."

In all the larger towns in England to-day, and in closest proximity to the drinking Restaurant, these Halls have been opened. In Liverpool alone there are forty-one, and all pay over ten per cent to their investors.

It was discovered that around the Liverpool docks

thousands of men were employed who had to be on hand at all hours of the day and night and get their meals when they could. The so-called "victualling houses" offered them plenty to drink and little to eat. Food was not served without beer.

The Church of England Temperance Society, therefore, opened more attractive Coffee Taverns along side of these "rum-holes" and gin-shops. They offered a good cup of tea or of coffee for a penny together with palatable soups and other nutritious food at proportionate prices.

The enterprise is now conducted on purely business principles, and without any necessary reference to philanthropy or moral reform. It pays. The stockholders are usually chosen from the workingmen who take shares of \$5.00 or \$10.00 each.

These cafés have already achieved more for the cause of a healthy temperance than all the other methods and millions employed. They are so many superior attractions, which, like Goliath's sword, are requisite in order that we may see this giant headless.

They have checked, if not prevented, the dipsomaniacs by inheritance in their downward course, and they have stopped in some places entirely the miserable civility of "treating" which draws along so many a socially disposed and generous young man.

Mr. George A. Parker, a wealthy Englishman, seems to have had that common-sense philanthropy which originated these genuine Restaurants with their private parlors, easy chairs, billiard tables, loo-tables, dominoes, checkers, cool-smoking straw pipes, music, newspapers, discussions, and, in short, every amusement which these men would, at first, take to.

After being beaten by the wealthy and politically influential proprietors of the low saloons, gentlemen like Parker resolved not to give up as conquered. Seeing the miseries entailed by rum, they could not give up. A counter-attraction was resolved on. They met the enemy on his own ground, by offering superior and perfectly safe entertainments of legitimate kinds. They have won, and are winning everywhere.

The Music and Coffee Hall win where the pulpit and platform have hitherto failed. Appetite is met where appetite prevails. Let me make a nation's amusements, and I care not who makes their rum.

The man of wealth may find his "outing you know,

a-hem," in many harmless ways, either in travel or reading, or in out-door games; but the poor fellow, who has to live in a cheap boarding-house, or whose home is in a narrow alley with its best room half filled with a cooking stove, and with wife sick, perhaps, and children not so unreasonably cross, must seek companionship and cheer somewhere. Such a retreat these Coffee and Music Halls offer. He actually takes his wife and children with him to enjoy the amusements. If he desires to "treat" a neighbor he takes him along, too. But we need not go to England to see how it works. Seven years ago, instigated, doubtless, by so good an example, one Mr. Joshua L. Bailey, a Chestnut street merchant, of large business, social and domestic interests, was moved by a noble soul to a similar enterprise. His object was to reach what are called "the better classes," the young men of wealth, together with the more thrifty mechanics and clerks, and the whole army that at noon-time sally forth to get luncheon. He saw that they were everywhere tempted to drink too strong drinks. He hired a corner grocery and employed, at first, a woman to make and serve coffee and bread. She offered a pint-mug of the very best "Java," with milk and granulated sugar, and two ounces of white or brown bread, all for five cents. On the first day forty-seven men came to be served, and in two weeks the counter had to be enlarged and a second woman employed to wait on the throng.

Store after store was rented, and to-day the entire block is appropriated to the well known "Central Coffee House." A section has been added for women; and a free reading-room with other attractions is opened till 10 o'clock P. M. daily, while the bill of fare is extended so as to include oysters, cake, bouillon, and all seasonable, and well seasoned dishes, excepting only "tangle-leg," and "twitch-eye," and all equally potent poisons. The price remains for each dish at five cents; a pint of milk with roll the same. All this may be seen and tasted any day at the corner of Fifth and Market streets. Verily, these modest men of the "City of Brotherly Love" may be allowed to boast, just a little.

Another Coffee House was opened three months after on the same plan on Fourth street, between Chestnut and Market, and a large and handsome building erected and named "The Model Coffee House." It is in the neighborhood of the newspaper and lawyers' offices, and bank



clerks and merchants, bootblacks and clergymen daily lunch there. The average number of guests at "the Model" is 2500, and at the Central 1700. The best of it is that the income from both these Coffee Houses has paid the original outlay back to this model philanthropist, amounting to many thousand dollars. Where is the next good Samaritan and lover of men (and there ought to be one in every city and town in the Union) who will go and do likewise?

The well-known methods of temperance advocates I have no desire to criticise. Incalculable benefit has been accomplished by license-laws, prohibition, "Washingtonians," "Sons of Temperance," "Bands of Hope" for children, and in various other ways that zeal and love for fellow-men have been busy with. Of course, mistakes have been made. No one denies that; but there is no unsurmountable discouragement nor despair of the cause yet apparent. All are coming to the opinion, that the battle is to be carried on upon higher, broader grounds, and along some of the lines of attack here indicated.

I believe the God who loves all men is calling up to higher vantage-ground.

His Church, above all, is rallying more unitedly to the rescue. Here our chief hope must rest. Its weapons are not vituperation, or infringement of conscientious rights, or political gainsaying, or exciting hobby-riding. No, Temperance is, as Doctor Howard Crosby says, not the whole of our Christianity, as good men have treated it who refused affiliation with any men whose conscience stopped short of total abstinence for all, instantaneously and forever. At any rate, anathema of all but teetotallers has failed. It is not Christianity. S. Paul, who is regarded as a man of some common sense, said that he was "all things to all men if by any means he might save some." We need not here take time to guard ourselves against charges of dangerous or craven expediency, for expediency is sometimes a jewel that our best friends fail to find. There is a cast-iron temper, which is erroneously supposed to be conscientiousness, of which fanatics are easily manufactured. It is not the kind of iron which has or will sharpen the iron with which we now propose to bind our friend, as with hooks of steel. Temperance is a grand moral subjection in speech and of the whole man to the sway of reason. To effect this is the aim of Christianity. To condemn the thousands who can be strictly "temperate in

all things," even in very dangerous things, is defying a great army of the friends of temperance. What we want is God's method of toleration in His Church, instead of man's theories which squander strength in fierce debates about fermented or unfermented wines, and err egregiously by defining temperance as teetotalism. Unquestionably, total abstinence is the only possible temperance for some, and for a brother's advantage, I may, if I choose, limit my own freedom. "Destroy not him with thy meat (or drink) for whom Christ died." A boy who is simply kept from temptation by prohibition is not as safe as we would have him. A man who has only signed a pledge for his support against the first friend who would "treat" him, and so in a friendly way destroy him, we know, from tearful experience, will fall.

There is, as we all ought to know by this time, only a single safeguard against this indescribably dreadful intemperance, this triumph of the animal over the intellectual, and moral and spiritual man, and that safeguard is, as S. Paul told us 1800 years ago, "Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit."

Organization, of course, is essential. The Holy Spirit works by organic methods and often by institutions more powerfully. We must, therefore, organize and agitate. But if we trust to any single organization more than His Church which includes, or ought to include, all others, then, like the man who ran before he was sent, we fail to arrive at the point of our destination. Specifics, other than this, against intemperance are no more valuable than panaceas for the suppression of ambition, or jealousy, or pride, or licentiousness.

There are not two Saviours, one for intemperance and the other for the remaining sins of the calendar. Thank God, there is one wide world's Redeemer who came to give men power of self-control and so to make us all "sons of God and heirs of eternal life." The Holy Spirit is the only master who can "order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men." He alone can make the pledge and the law of moral reform operative, and the reason is obvious, because a change of nature is requisite, a conversion from animal to spiritual, from wrath to grace, "from the power of Satan unto God." The magnitude of the evil calls for such omnipotence.

Let us go back, therefore, to Divine methods. Let us teach the children the old catechism, which says, "My

duty to my neighbor is to keep my body (not his) in sobriety, temperance, and chastity." Prevention shall thus work, at least, as well as cure.

Faith in God and in men, prayer, patience, perseverance, and the wisdom which is from above, these are our chief reliance and basis for hopefulness in the near future.

**JOHN T. HUNTINGTON.**

## THE REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT— AGAIN.

**A**N ARTICLE on this subject appeared in the October number of this Review over the Signature of Bishop Doane. The present writer does not propose to say anything here upon the general subject of the Revision of the New Testament, having already expressed his views in an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July; but there are some statements in the article in this Review that need remark in order to guard against erroneous impressions, and there are some principles enunciated in regard to the determination of the text which require further discussion.

Before entering upon these points it may be excusable to express a regret that the article could not have pointed out more fully the great excellence of many of the changes in the Revision as well as its glaring defects. Wholesale condemnation of so important a work tends to produce a reaction in its favor, rather than conduces to that calm and impartial judgment which must pass the final decision. The Revision has its ground, not in the many and great excellencies of the old Version, but in its comparatively minor defects; the Revision itself must necessarily be tried by the same standard, and when this is borne in mind, there need be no fear, even on the part of those who dislike it most, in acknowledging its points of excellence.

At the same time with the publication of the Revision there appeared a pamphlet entitled "Companion to the Revised Version of the New Testament." This was written by a single member of the English Revision Committee, and contains a supplement prepared by a single member of the American Committee. It is well known that this publication not only does not have the *imprimatur* of the Committee, but is not even looked upon favorably by many of its members. It is to be regretted that this pamphlet should have been treated in the article as an authorized publication and the Committee have been held responsible for its statements. The effect of this is to give the statements of the article an appearance of unfairness which was doubtless as far as possible from the distinguished author's intention.

The most striking instance of the criticism of the text may be taken up first, both because it is of great interest in itself and because it will illustrate the others. The article on p. 77 discusses the authority of the text in 1 Jno. V. 7, 8, and concludes "The final decision, we think, will leave the disputed words *bracketed* in the text." This conclusion is based upon the following statement:—the disputed passage "has the authority of S. Jerome and S. Cyprian, and of four hundred Bishops assembled at Carthage in 484, and of such scholars as Griesbach and Porson, Wake, Secker, Bull, Pearson, Beveridge, Horsley, Middleton, Bengel." It is difficult to account for this statement. S. Jerome does *not* give his authority to the passage. He appears to have given but little care to the epistles in what is called "S. Jerome's version"; yet the verse is wanting in the best MSS. of that version (such as the *Cod. Amiatinus* and *Fuldensis*), and in his own works S. Jerome never recognizes the passage. He can only be connected with it by a Preface to the Catholic Epistles, generally printed with his works, but well known to be spurious. Griesbach, so far from accepting the passage, emphatically condemned it; he not only removed it from the text (which he did only in the case of passages of whose spuriousness he was assured), but he refers for the discussion of it to an essay at the end of his volume "*ubi spurium nunc versum docemus.*" Porson, the next authority cited, was conspicuous in the controversy which raged in England on the subject about a century ago, but was strongly and indeed with unbecoming levity, on the opposite side. Of the other authorities it is unnecessary to make any further remark

than that, however learned and excellent in their own departments, they yet lived and wrote at a time when the science of textual criticism was in its infancy, and the present wealth of material for determining the true text was comparatively little known. Scrivener, whose disposition to sustain the received text as far as possible cannot be doubted, remarks on this passage, "the authenticity of the words within brackets will, perhaps, no longer be maintained by any one whose judgment ought to have weight; but this result has been arrived at after a long and memorable controversy."\* Tregelles says, "to enter into a formal discussion of the 'testimony of the heavenly witnesses' 1 Jno. v. 7, is really superfluous; for it would only be doing over again what has been done so repeatedly that there cannot be two opinions in the minds of those who now know the evidence and are capable of appreciating its force."† But really this is not a matter on which to cite *opinions*, but facts; and it is hard to see how half a page could have been given to this subject without mentioning some of the following facts: The passage is found in no Greek MS. whatever except one (*cod.* 162) of the XV. century, largely corrupted from the Latin Vulgate. It is indeed, technically speaking, in two others, one (the famous *cod. Montfortianus*) of the XV. or XVI. century, written on unglazed paper with the exception of the single glazed leaf containing this text; and the other (the *cod. Ravianus*) a worthless copy from printed books. Surely these cannot be considered authorities. It is found in none of the ancient Versions, except in so far as it is in the Latin; but it is wanting in the best MSS. of that, and first appears in a Latin MS. (known as *m*) of the VI. or VII. century. It is not quoted or referred to by any Greek Father, nor is it anywhere recognized by the great Latin writers Hilary, Lucifer, Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine. It rests on the authority of Cyprian and some other lesser and later Latin writers.

The treatment of Mrk. xvi. 9-20 on p. 76 of the article is somewhat similar. To avoid misunderstanding, it may not be amiss to say at the outset that the present writer regards this passage as having been written by S. Mark, but after some interval, his Gospel having been at first

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\* Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament. 2nd Ed. p. 560.

† On the Printed Text of the Greek Testament, p. 226.

broken off abruptly and left for a time unfinished. But the account of the evidence given in the article is remarkable. It states that the passage is "found in both the elder Syriac translations in the second century." There is but one Syriac translation of that date. The facts are as follows: there is sufficient testimony that there was a Syriac version in existence at that time, and it has always been supposed that this was preserved in the so-called *Peshito* Syriac, which is equally accepted by the various sects into which the Syrian Christians were divided and of which MSS. are still in existence of the VI. and VII. centuries. But a Syriac MS. (brought from the Nitrian desert in 1842 and 1847 and containing considerable fragments of the Gospels) was published in 1858 by Dr. CURETON and is called after him the "Curetonian Syriac." This MS. is assigned by him to Cent. V. Its text is much rougher than that of the Peshito, with which it sometimes verbally agrees, and from which it often differs, the text on the whole showing a remarkable likeness to the Greek MS. D. Without entering upon the question of the relation of these MSS. to each other, there is no good reason to suppose that they represent different *translations*; nor, on the supposition that they do, is there any clue to the age—short of century V.—of the later of them.

In the same place, the article speaks of "the Sinaitic MS. and the Vatican (copies probably one of the other)." This will hardly be accepted by those familiar with the various readings of these two most ancient and important MSS. The only basis, so far as I know, for such a suggestion is the surmise of Tischendorf that the same scribe employed upon six leaves of the Sinaiticus (containing this passage) was also employed upon a part of the Vaticanus. However this may be, the article goes on to state that these verses "have against their genuineness" only these two MSS., forgetting that they are entirely omitted from the genuinely *ancient* Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons—those weighty witnesses to the text as it was in century IV.—; that they are marked in a peculiar way in 137, 138; that two different endings of the Gospel are given in the important MS. L and in 274; and that some thirty other MSS. have *scholia* stating the Gospel "in the more ancient" (and many add, more "accurate") "copies ends at v. 9," or some similar remark casting doubt upon the paragraph. The passage is also wanting in the old MSS. of the Æthiopic as well as some of the Armenian,

and in *k* of the Latin. But the chief doubt about it arises from the explicit statement of S. Jerome and Eusebius, and it is singular that no notice should be taken of these in an article which insists so much upon the superiority of Patristic testimony. S. Jerome speaks of this passage twice; once (*ad Hedibiam*. Quæst. III.) he says "*Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur evangelis, omnibus Græciæ libris pæne hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus*"; and again (*adv. Pelag.* II. 15) he quotes vs. 14, with a long and remarkable addition, "*in quibusdam exemplaribus, ex maxime in Græcis codicibus juxta Marcum in fine ejus evangelii scribitur.*" It is plain that S. Jerome recognized the passage as existing in his time in some Greek MSS. with important variations, but did not allow its genuineness. Eusebius (*Quæst. ad Marin.*) before him had said that this paragraph was not in all the copies of the Gospel, and that the accurate copies ended with vs. 9. The treatment of these quotations in the book of Burgon, referred to in the article, is one of the curiosities of literature. It is to be observed that the revisers have retained the passage, simply separated by a space from the foregoing text, and have *not* bracketed it; it is therefore not quite accurate to say, as the article does a few lines further on in connection with another passage that it "is left in the same attitude with the closing verses of S. Mark's Gospel, bracketed but retained."

It is hardly worth while to follow out in this way the various other criticisms of the text. A reference to any good critical edition of the Greek New Testament will show in most cases that there is too much really important evidence on both sides to allow of any summary and off-hand decision. The authorities have to be carefully weighed in each case, and often no little exercise of a skilled and practiced judgment is required for the final decision.

Whether we agree with the Revisers in their results or not, there are certain statements in the article in regard to their work which require notice in the interest of ordinary fairness. Thus on p. 66: "is the Sinaitic Manuscript really of so much higher authority than all the rest, that it is to be the idol of all students of the Sacred Text?" And again, in the next paragraph, "the Revisers have apparently decided, to the detriment of independent idiom and to the discomfiture of all manuscripts in favor of the Sinaitic." So also p. 82, "The Revisers, seem to have"



“allowed the Sinaitic MS. . . to assume a towering authority above all other manuscripts.” The facts are hardly in accordance with these statements. The Revisers no doubt, like all other scholars, held the Sinaiticus in very high esteem as one of our two MSS. of the fourth century, and one whose text, tested by express quotations in the Fathers and by the early versions, is found to represent *generally* the most ancient readings. But we know of no critic who gives to it such a position as is charged in these extracts. Tischendorf himself, its discoverer and one who may be excused for some partiality, very frequently rejects its readings; *e.g.*, in a cursory examination of the two first chapters of S. Luke we have noticed 29 places in which he adopts a reading at variance with the Sinaiticus *a prima manu*, and 32 places in the latter half of S. Matthew in which he sets aside the combined authority of this MS. and the Vaticanus. It is well known that the text of the Revisers is in general (though not complete) agreement with that of Westcott and Hort, advanced sheets of which were confidentially used in the Committee; and it is also known that these editors place the Vaticanus on the whole above the Sinaiticus. The Revisers occasionally set aside the combined authority of the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, as in Matt. xvi. 2, 3; xxi. 12; Jno. i. 18, and adhere to the old text in accordance with the judgments of the best critics. Facts do not bear out the statement that they have preferred the Sinaiticus to all other manuscripts.

On p. 82 there is a statement about this MS. which may be left with a brief mention of well known facts. The article says—“the Sinaitic MS. (claimed by Simonides to be a MS. in his own handwriting).” Simonides, a Greek of Syme, was an expert in ancient MSS. and was both a dealer in genuine, and a wonderfully skilful forger of spurious documents. In 1862 he published in *facsimile* a forgery of some leaves of S. Matthew purporting to have been written fifteen years after the Ascension of our Lord. Some of his forgeries were so well executed as to deceive even good scholars; it was in consequence of being detected and exposed by Tischendorf that he made the claim referred to. Knowing that the discovery of the Sinaitic MS. had added to the fame of Tischendorf, he had the effrontery to say that this MS. had been copied by himself from a bible printed at Moscow. This preposterous story was immediately and thoroughly exposed, and was never accepted by any respectable scholar.

On p. 83 the following sentence occurs: "He [the author] has been at no pains to point out these desirable changes [in the text], which will at once suggest themselves to any ordinary student of the Greek New Testament, under the guidance of the Commentators most in the hands of students for the last twenty years, Wordsworth, Lightfoot, Alford, Ellicott, and still more Griesbach, Wetstein, Bengel and Bloomfield." The first four of these are much used by students of the New Testament, and three of them are valuable in the determination of the text; but if the writer really supposes that the modern student relies for his text upon any or all of those placed in the category of "still more," this may account for the flavor of antiquity upon the subject of textual criticism which pervades the article. Griesbach is indeed justly called the father of the science; but he wrote three quarters of a century ago when neither the materials nor the knowledge of the use of them were what they are now. His works are still of great value in the history of criticism and also from the conservative character of his work. Wetstein was half a century earlier even than Griesbach, and though he collected a vast store of critical material, he was himself so deficient in critical sagacity that his works are possessed by few students and scarcely ever referred to. Bengel, writing about the same time as Wetstein, is valued among the older *commentators* but has no authority on matters of textual criticism. Bloomfield can hardly be considered an authority in either. No mention is made at all of the real authorities in the criticism of the text, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Scrivener and our own Dr. Abbot.

But now, leaving these details, it is time to look at some of the more important principles set forth in the article. In the very first paragraph (p. 64) it charges the Revisers with a "constant disregard for the very important testimony of early Christian writers—who quote from earlier and consequently more authentic MSS. than any extant now." A little farther on (p. 66) the same thing is put in the form of a question, "are questions of authenticity to be settled by reference to manuscripts of a later, with almost no regard paid to quotations in the Fathers of an earlier date?" Still again (p. 82) "And, so far as one can gather from results, the Revisers seem to have elevated manuscripts altogether too much above the authority of versions and quotations of an earlier date than any manuscript

we have." The same thought is involved in many of the particular criticisms made, and is plainly a key-note of the article. So far as the course of the Revisers is concerned, it is not necessary here to undertake their defence; but a principle is involved in these extracts which is of importance to every scholar and, indeed, to every Christian, and a few words must be said upon it.

There are three principal sources for the determination of the text: MSS., Versions, and Quotations. In regard to the first nothing need be said. Everyone knows that in the constant copying and recopying of a document for ages errors will creep in, and that an absolutely perfect text is to be found in no single MS. whatever. Immense labor has been spent in the examination and comparison of the MSS. of the New Testament, and they have been carefully classified according to the general care shown in their transcription and the accuracy of their texts; but no scholar would think of accepting any one, or indeed any number of them as conclusive without the examination and weighing of the other sources of evidence.

Versions are another important authority. There are several of them made, in some cases as early as the second century, in very different languages and in widely separated countries. But these versions have also been preserved in MSS., subject to the same corruptions as those of the Greek text, and it is very necessary in using them to have resource to the earliest and best MSS. and to quotations from them; in a word to determine their original reading by substantially the same process as is required for the Greek text. This has been done for most of the versions with great labor, learning and skill; and the results are incorporated in every good critical edition of the New Testament. So far are the "Revisers" or any other critical scholars from having overlooked them. They really always attach very great importance to them.

Finally there are the Patristic quotations. The writings of the Fathers have been handed down, in the same way with the Greek text and with the Versions, in MSS., and with this additional source of error: that well meaning but ignorant scribes have very often *corrected* the quotations from Scripture by making them conform to the Greek text current in their own time. Sometimes the scribe is betrayed in his own alteration by the accompanying comment of the Father upon the passage, as in the case of the remarks of Eusebius upon the *δευματίσαι* of Matt. i. 24, and some-

times he thus makes nonsense. It is very important therefore, to ascertain what the Father making the quotation originally wrote, and it will by no means do to accept as his reading that which is now found in his printed works. It often happens that a voluminous writer, such as Origen or S. Augustine, will quote the same passage in different parts of his works, now according to one reading, now according to another. Quotations are not a source of evidence any more than the others, to be used in an off hand, easy way, on the supposition that they are always reliable just as we find them. There is however, one kind of Patristic citation which is not liable to these corruptions, and which is of the greatest value and is so esteemed by all critical scholars. It is what is called *express* citation, when the writer especially calls attention to the reading, remarking upon a difference in parallel places in the Gospels or in different MSS. of the Greek which he has examined. One instance of such express citation has already been given in connection with the last paragraph of S. Mark's Gospel. One other (out of a great many) may be mentioned because the treatment in the article of the passage in question is so singular. P. 72. "In Matt. xix. 17, the change which rests on the evidence of MSS. is clearly right"; but no allusion is made to the Patristic testimony. Now it is very curious that this is one of the many test passages in which the critics have determined the comparative value of the Greek MSS. by the aid of the Versions and especially of the Patristic quotations? The reading which the Revisers have adopted and which the article approves is found in only a small number of Greek MSS.  $\aleph$ , B, D, L, 1, and 22 give this reading; all the other uncials which contain the passage, and the great mass of the cursives have the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, which is also found in S. Chrysostom, Euthymius, Theophylact, Hilary, and Justin as quoted by Irenæus. But the Versions, although with some variation, are strongly in favor of the other reading, and this is finally determined to be the true one by the express citations in Origen and S. Augustine pointing out the difference between the text of S. Matthew here and that of the other Gospels.

Several of the Fathers, as Origen, Eusebius, S. Jerome and some others, were critical and learned scholars and point out carefully differences between the MSS. which existed in their day and examine questions of the true reading. All such citations are fully appreciated by modern

critical scholars as of the utmost value; and they also value very highly any early Patristic quotation of which they can be reasonably sure. But they do not feel bound to be governed by readings which have been introduced into the writings of the Fathers by later scribes, nor by opposite readings in different parts of the works of the same Father, except as these indicate a variation in the text of a still earlier date. In short, the principle of the critics is an intelligent use of all sources of information in regard to the original text, with careful weighing of the relative importance of each in the particular case under examination, but with no exclusive dependance upon any one source to the exclusion of others and with no arithmetical estimate of the value of any.

But this discussion leads immediately to another point which is not in words enunciated in the article, but which seems to underlie its reasonings. The writer of the article may not adopt the position in question, but as it is adopted by others, and as the article naturally suggests its consideration, it seems to require mention. It is that "that text of the New Testament is to be received which the Church has acknowledged, without regard to whether or not it may have been the text of the original Apostolic writings." We confess to an entire inability to understand the distinction here made. What is the Church? We suppose no one would contend that it was the Church of the XVII. or XVI. or XV. century; and if they did, then would come the question between the different versions in use in different parts of the Church. But I suppose we may assume that what is meant is the Church in the earliest times of which we have knowledge; and if so, how are we to ascertain the text which that Church received? Is it not by the precise means used by the critics? The principal Greek MSS. were in all probability prepared for use in reading in the churches and were so read; they constitute what may be called "the authorized text" of the period to which they belong. The Versions were those accepted and used in those Churches in which their several languages prevailed, and may again be spoken of as "authorized versions." The Patristic citations are quotations of the text made by eminent scholars of the early Church and certainly represent the intelligent view of the text as it was in their time. These sources of evidence in regard to the text which "the Church" received are precisely those which determine the readings of judicious modern critical

scholars. That in any particular case the judgment of any particular critic in sifting the evidence may be at fault is quite another matter; the point is that he sets before himself as his aim exactly that at which the objector says he ought to aim.

There are, indeed, a few passages, like the story of the woman taken in adultery (Jno. vii. 53—viii. 11) and the answer of Philip to the Eunuch (Acts viii. 37), which it may be alleged have been generally received in the Church for so long a course of centuries that, whether originally in the sacred text or not, they now have the *imprimatur* of that body which is the appointed keeper and guardian of Holy Writ, and are therefore to be accepted as a part of the inspired teaching. Now, whatever may be the conclusion in regard to these or any other particular passages, the question to be discussed is really the same: are these parts of the word originally entrusted to the keeping of the Church, or are they later corruptions which have crept in? If the former, true critical investigation can but establish them; if the latter, the early Church did not receive them. In regard to passages which are really found to be spurious our course must be the same as with regard to erroneous doctrines and rites. Centuries of ignorance and corruption do not change false doctrine into truth, nor justify ceremonies in which those doctrines are embodied. The same centuries cannot make that into the word of God which was never written by the inspiration of His Spirit.

FREDERIC GARDINER.



## LITERARY NOTICES.

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### I. PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY.

*Individualism, Its Growth and Tendencies*—With some suggestions as to the Remedy for its Evils. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in November, 1880, by the Right Reverend A. N. Littlejohn, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Long Island. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co.—London: George Bell & Sons.—New York: T. Whittaker.

These sermons, although delivered in England, have, and were designed to have, an unrestricted application. They speak of and to the present age irrespective of any peculiar forms of social, civic or religious life. It is not our object to give a detailed analysis of the book. Its structure is such, and its material is so compacted, that its entirety has scarcely given room to the author for a full and exhaustive treatment of his theme. He shows, at various points, that he is restive under a conditioned opportunity to give a detailed elaboration of illustration and argument. Not unfrequently he has had to content himself with a mere suggestion of his drift of thought and logic, and pass on to other and new relations of the subject. But notwithstanding its somewhat incomplete and fragmentary character it is a piece of work masterly in design and execution.



It is eminently successful in its primary aim. As a diagnosis it is clear in analysis and forcible in statement. The salient fact he proposes to establish is that "The Growth and Tendencies of Individualism" are painfully and prophetically visible in a wide-spread denial of legitimate authority. After a comparison of the status of the individual in ancient and modern life, and a concise statement of what Christianity has done in giving large and symmetrical development to man as a free moral agent, with fearful responsibility conformable to his varied relations, he shows how his enlarged opportunities and capabilities have been the occasion of the very condition of things to which his warning is directed.

His definition of individualism, although not formulated in words, is the *disavowal, by individuals, or by organic bodies of men, of established authority, or of the consensus of opinion, in the realm of thought and belief.* He traces the tendency in many directions—and shows its blighting influence—1. on personal character and the general character of the time. 2. on proper views as to the source and obligations of morality. 3. On the Faith, Ordinances, Worship and Polity of the Church. 4. In begetting an absolutism of Public Opinion, that does not recognize the power or province of authoritative and permanent institutions. 5. In its unconcealed sympathy with the two leading forms of Modern Socialism. 6. Its hostility to the traditions of the race. 7. Its cramping and suppressing power as illustrated by the present condition and prospect of the Art-work and the Art-impulse.

On these different phases and relations of the subject there is exhibited much alert and incisive thought, no little logical force by way of induction and deduction, and ready familiarity with the history of speculative thought. Evidently the theme is not a new one to the author as the whole treatment displays wide observation, close inspection and earnest thinking. In some things we can trace the trend back to the "*Conciones ad Clerum.*"

The *second* Sermon deals with the "Counter Truths." These constitute, in part, the remedial treatment, or the antidote, to be employed by leaders and teachers in Society, State and Church. The method he proposes as counteractive and curative is—1) To assail the core of Individualism by *exposing* its pride and *self-sufficiency*—by showing philosophically, how it prevents all certitude of opinion as the result of a consensus—by showing its kinship to

materialism or intuitionism and the alliance of these with infidelity. 2. To present, in a clearer and stronger light, the proper value and use of purely intellectual power—to maintain an observance of the trichotomy of man—the Divine ordination that the spirit must dominate the soul or intellect. 3. To prove the groundlessness of cherished hopes based on material progress, or the development of industrial and commercial resources. 4. To show that all the various forms in which Political Power is now manifested are merely experimental and uncertain until government is recognized as a Divine authority and *its acts have their spring in and are shaped by the ethics of the Bible*. 5. Theology and Philosophy, baptized, must enter the list—maintain the essential and perpetual obligation of the truth in opposition to all self-evolved speculation in its protean forms of individualism.

Sermon *Third* is devoted to an exposition of the origin and claims of the "*Institutional checks and limitations*" to individualism. It defines and illustrates organic life as existing in the *Family*, the *State*, and the *Church*, showing that each has an end other and higher than the individual—that each is an integral part of the world's moral order—not a voluntary institution or mere construction of man's device but an outgrowth from the Divine purpose.—This gives the *complement* of the "Counter Truths" and sets forth the positive curative agencies, with their Divine ordination and inherent philosophy; by which Individualism is to be defeated in its schemes to rule the thought of the Church and the World.

We are thankful to the Bishop for this book. It is entirely satisfactory to us in its plan and in its execution within its prescribed limits. It suggests the possibility of a fuller treatment under other conditions, and we hope that the Bishop will renew and extend his investigation on the same line. We have not attempted to do more than indicate his method of discussion by mentioning the topics he passes under review as related to his subject. The book contains abundant proof of his scholarly ability and attainments, and richly repays the thoughtful study and consideration of the reader.

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*Octave Pirmez. Heures de Philosophie. Deuxième édition.*  
Paris: E. Plon et Cie.

This curious book, M. Pirmez' Hours of Philosophy,—especially curious in that the French, even their philoso-

phers, are not much given to the meditative mood,—will recall to the reader the few similar or analogous works in the literature of the world. It is conceived in the spirit of the *meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, for whom the author expresses his admiration,—“stoical, pious, benevolent and contemplative.” It reminds us of the *Pensées* of Pascal—“*sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets*”: it has something of the spirit, of Hare’s *Guesses at truth*, and it is an *omnium gatherum* of valuable commonplaces like the *Essays* of Bacon.

The writer is a thinker and a mystic, who tells us that he wrote his work “in the solitude of the country and far from the noise of crowds.” It consists of six hundred and eighty-six sections or theses, and it essays to compass the entire scope of philosophy, divine and human. Most grave and solemn in the main, it has the effect of Young’s “Night thoughts” upon the reader, who, without occasional relief would sink under the weight of its funereal character. The relief is doled out from time to time.

The author strikes the key-note by saying,—“The mind has three great objects to contemplate,—God, Nature and Humanity: God, the First cause; Nature the apparent form of the Divine Will; Humanity, the quintessence of the natural world which arrives at a vague comprehension of God.”

In the hundreds of theses based upon these postulates we have considerations of every phase of humanity, and every form of passion with an attempt to reduce them to philosophy. He unravels paradoxes, disputes the half-truths of axioms and epigrams, and sets forth his own views in the form, and with the assumption, of apothegms. “Familiarity,” he says, “except in evil hearts, does not breed contempt: in well born souls, on the contrary, it increases esteem and affection.” In speaking of *envy* as a universal bane, he writes—“it does not aspire to aggrandize itself, but to depreciate others. A remedy is needed, and I find it only in the Christian sentiment, or in the thoughts of high philosophy which Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius have bequeathed to the world.”

He curiously illustrates the value of letter-writing by the life of JESUS CHRIST—;“JESUS would have been extinguished as to His Divinity—and removed from the acceptance and love of men, if He had not had writers to transmit Him to posterity, but the apostles had too much humanity to shut up in their own hearts the celestial treasure:

they wrote the life of their Master, and spread among men his work, which became imperishable through their testimony.

Many of the *heures* are without title; many others have Latin and Greek mottoes or texts: but in the table of contents the subjects of the former are given, and they treat of everything under the sun of which there is or may be a philosophy, in so desultory a fashion, that we can hardly extract the idea of a system from the work.

In his essay—*In pulverem*, after a doleful picture of decay and death in which he confesses one “feels crushed by the unfathomable *mutisin* of the matter,” he says—“Take refuge then in your heart of hearts: there you will hear the consoling prediction of the end of time,—‘*Ero mors tua, ô Mors!*’”

He goes on to say,—“It is upon the Christian basis that the philosophies must be established; it is as immutable as the essence of our nature. Nothing reaches the Father except through sacrifice. Outside the Christian spirit, there is no real human sentiment. That was the spirit of all the philosophers loved by men, who preceded JESUS. It contains and encloses all poetry and all metaphysics. In it alone all hearts are commingled. Poetic,—it appreciates the evanescence of all things, displaying the *Nescio quid flebile*, even in the beauties which charm us. Philosophic,—it teaches resignation, that internal heroism. It will endure until the consummation of the ages. In vain does one speak of progress; that progress can only be produced in the practical, external, material sciences. Since Isaiah, Homer, S. Augustin, Dante, the heart of men has not progressed. That which was morally beautiful thousands of years ago is so to-day.”

Thus with the laudation, not of the Christian religion, but of the Christian spirit, *which actuated the philosophers who preceded Jesus*, the writer leaves us with the conviction that his work is rather theistical than Christian, and that Christianity plays a part, important indeed, but only a co-operating part in the philosophy of humanity, which has indeed done reasonably well without it.

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*The Social History of the Races of Mankind. Fifth Division: Arameans.* By A. Featherman. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

This solid and massive work, the first volume of which is thus announced, is the fruit of ten years of constant ap-

plication in the collection of materials in the best libraries of Europe and America, and bears the marks of the widest research and the most unflagging purpose. Mr. Featherman thinks that the primeval man was not developed anywhere by a single pair but by thousands of pairs at a time and that it was by long continued organic interaction through sexual and natural selection that the perfect typical form of the human species was developed. He did not spring from a single stock or from one ancestral type. He arose under varying conditions in different countries, and at different geological periods. "The initiatory forces of nature which caused his primitive development existed in some degree in all the isothermal regions of the earth, and wherever the favorable circumstances were capable of producing and fostering into maturity the human animal, there he appeared, everywhere adapting himself, in constitution and growth, to the local variations of the local environments. This is the point of view from which this work is written. He derives the human family from six different stocks, the Nigritian, which is the earliest primitive type of human kind, in the equatorial region of Egypt; the Melanesian, in Borneo and the adjacent New Guinea, Australia and the Indian Archipelago; the Maranonian, in the valley of the Amazon and its tributaries in the tropical regions which now form a part of Brazil; the Turanian, in the fertile valley of Siam and along the banks of the Meinam to the Cambodian river; the Aramean, in the central part of Syria; and the Iranian, which was first developed on the southern slope of the Caucasus mountains, in the sunny land of Georgia and Lake Erivan, and is now divided into five great branches of which the Aryans approach nearest the primitive type. Mr. Featherman's plan is to bring together in this form of a simple and graphic statement, without philosophical reflections, the points in which the races of mankind have reached social development. For instance, in treating of the Nestorians, he takes up their geographical position, their employments, drink, food, furniture, government, habitations and history, their industrial pursuits, language and literature, their marriage ceremonies, their religious customs, their priests, schools and superstitions, and their moral and physical character. In these statements one hardly knows which to prize the most, the information furnished or the compact and readable style in which it is conveyed. The plan of the author seems to be to include in this ample

enterprise the social history of the whole human family. What it is to lead to is not intimated; its present value depends entirely upon its accuracy in matters of fact, and Mr. Featherman not only gives his authorities in bulk but often refers to them in foot-notes at the bottom of the page.

The work promises to be encyclopedic in its character; its index is excellent, and if the whole work is completed in the style in which the first volume is written and issued, it will be indispensable to the library of every student of the doings and characteristics of the human family. The author dates his work from Paris; it is printed in Edinburgh, and the American publishers simply import an English edition for the chief libraries in this country. It is impossible to enter upon a criticism of the work, at the beginning of its publication, or to divine the author's purpose beyond the making of a detailed statement of the differentiations of race the world over.

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*The Theory of Preaching. Lectures on Homiletics.* By Austin Phelps, D.D., late Bartlett Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

If scholarly culture, wide experience, and marked ability should confer authority of opinion, then this book has significance and weight. It is the condensed outcome of thirty-one years of teaching by a man of splendid endowments and of exceptional power. Twelve hundred students of Divinity have had the privilege and benefit of the oral delivery of these lectures, and now they are issued from the press to exert a still wider formative influence upon those already in the pulpit and those looking forward to it as the arena of their life work. He, early in his teachings, became convinced of the unsatisfactoriness, in results, of the scientific treatment of the subject. Thereafter his aim was to give his instruction a practical form and to impress upon the minds of his students the importance of the fact that the work upon which they were, ultimately, to enter was practical in the most intense sense of the term. Hence while he *did* not and *could* not discard the theoretical, or philosophical, basis of all true Homiletics, yet he always strove to bring to light the underlying practical significance of every tenet he proposed in the construction or criticism of a sermon. That both himself and his students might be subordinated by this practical

aim he encouraged an adoption of the Socratic method. The questions thus started by eager and inquiring minds, ambitious of ample preparation for their professional work, became the germinal point of this elaborate and skilful treatise and have given the lectures their form and high educational value.

While the whole structure of the book is scientific, yet the very logic and orderliness of its method, in the treatment of the successive topics, seem to bring into clearer light the practical value and application of its apparently numberless divisions and subdivisions. In other words—his minute analysis is given not to be rigidly followed as rules in the preparation of a sermon so much as to beget, by general absorption, an ever ready and unconscious application of the right rule at the right time. Thus when he defines seven uses of the text of a sermon, and gives sixteen qualities as desirable in the explanation of a text, he certainly does not mean that this formidable gamut must be gone through in the preparation of every sermon, but *only* that a preacher should be so thoroughly drilled for his work as to promptly make the proper selections for the occasion and uses of his sermon.

We know of no author on the subject whose ideas and counsel so pulsate with vigorous thinking and earnestness of soul. There are extended passages which are as incisive and eloquent as some of the most lauded specimens of ancient or modern oratory. Wit, humor and imagination are employed to expose artificial and objectionable methods of sermonizing, and again the closest argument, expressed in faultless diction and draped with the highest graces of style, enforces the true, natural, and common sense method of construction under whatever class the sermon may fall. Some of his laconic sentences seem winged and pointed so as to effect an easy lodgment in the brains of his auditors, and again, by a succession of terse statements, he sometimes buttresses a principle or proposition so as to make it invulnerable to all attack from any quarter of philosophy, logic or rhetoric. The whole book is infused with the light of genius, and from the first to the last page, notwithstanding the elaboration, with minute detail, it awakens a growing interest in the reader so that it is far removed from the dry and prolix presentation, usually adopted by other writers on the subject, and may be read with admiration and profit by any one of literary culture and taste.

Prof. Phelps evidently sympathises with the best of the many changes that have occurred in the methods of the Pulpit within the last thirty years. He entertains a high ideal of the Preacher and his work and while he eschews, with loathing, all sentimentalism and artificial devices to gain popular applause, and regards the primary object of the ministry to be instruction in divine knowledge, he yet magnifies its practical aims, viz: to save sinners and edify the body of Christ, and hence he warned his students against the tendency to *aspire after* and *rest in* mere theologic or literary culture to the neglect of the one aim and end to which they should be consecrated. The concluding lecture on "Ministerial Culture" is full of wise counsel and sharply defines what should be the motive power, qualifications and line of activity of a minister.

The book contains forty chapters, originally lectures, in which everything pertaining to the proper material and arrangement of a sermon is stated, examined and critically settled. We cannot give the substance of these chapters or even their headings, as it would occupy too much space and would be a waste of time to the writer and reader of this notice. We will merely say that the whole subject of Homiletics is discussed in a masterly, captivating and fruitful way by a man of wonderful versatility of power and attainment—that we have derived much pleasure and profit from the book, and that we most cheerfully and heartily commend it to all who are interested in the subject.

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*Orations and Essays: With Selected Parish Sermons.*  
By the Rev. J. Lewis Diman, D.D. A Memorial Volume.  
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The sudden death of Dr. Diman a year ago has been deeply, widely, and seriously lamented. He was one of our foremost interpreters of the courses of historical development. He had mastered not only the great histories of the world but the branches of social and general knowledge by which they are complemented. Not a man of genius, not a man of swift, piercing imagination, he was more than the scholar, more than the professor, more than the parish priest; he comprehended to a rare degree the meaning of historical forces in the world of living thought. His lectures on "The Theistic Argument," though dealing with theological and philosophical matters, follow essentially this line of study and thinking. Whatever subject he took up, grew to greatness in his hands. He



integrated something else with it. He saw truth as well as facts in their relation to other truths and other facts. It is this quality which gives a peculiar value to his writings. They march like a Roman cohort, and the whole world of truth and fact is witness to the marching. This has caused those who had read his "Theistic Argument" to anticipate with keen curiosity the volume of his "Orations and Addresses" which has just appeared. His sermons are rather essays than sermons, but none the less valuable for that. His mind had a little too ponderous swing for the ordinary congregation; its range was in the upper ether; but whenever he touched the concrete ethical questions of the race, the questions which shake the world, he was entirely at home and a host in himself. It is hard to say which is best in this volume, his address on "The Alienation of the Educated Class from Politics," or that on "Roger Williams," or that on "The Settlement of Mount Hope," or that on "Sir Henry Vane," or his remarkable monograph on "Religion in America," or his essay on "University Corporations." Thoroughness, breadth, and conscious purpose went into the writing of these several compositions, and there are elements in them that breathe and burn long after the occasion which inspired them. They are Miltonic; they are also Baconian; and they keep to the scientific without as strictly as do the writings of Herbert Spencer. Dr. Diman's strength was not in the play but in the highest use of his faculties. He had the gifts of ethical inspiration, and it is said that the students of Brown University during his nearly twenty years of professional service regarded his instructions in history and political economy or allied subjects as the best part of their undergraduate instruction. His power was as great in the classroom as upon the platform. He was one of the few men who knew how to work "at the top of their faculties;" he was always at his best. He spoke and thought as a man who had his own convictions, but the scholar was always at his elbow. The Rev. Professor James O. Murray, his friend and classmate, has carried this volume through the press and has prefixed a memorial discourse. Seemingly he has done his duty and his discourse is excellent of its kind, but it is a serious mistake to put such an academical performance in place of a simple, honest, faithful, genial, biographical, sketch, which conveys some conception of the scholar, the professor, the lecturer, the Christian gentleman, that Dr. Diman really was. It is a

bit of biography on stilts, not half as great as Prof. Murray could have written, if he had been less ambitious, though we must think there was more in Dr. Diman than his friend has found. All that this great teacher has written is valuable, and it is hoped that there may be material papers for another volume, to which an adequate biography may be prefixed.

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## II. BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

*The Holy Bible, with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary*; by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by H. C. Cook, M.A. New Testament. Vol. III. Romans to Philemon. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is the last volume but one of what is commonly known as "The Speaker's Commentary." The concluding volume on the Catholic Epistles and Revelation, is announced as in the press, and probably will soon be issued. It is popularly called the "Speaker's Commentary," because suggested by the Right Hon. J. Evelyn Denison, the Speaker of the House of Commons in 1863. It appeared to him that there was great need of a plain Commentary upon the Sacred Books, in which the latest information might be made accessible to men of ordinary culture." It follows that these volumes are not intended so much for the scholar as for the ordinary reader, that they aim to be chiefly explanatory of the meaning of Holy Writ, without entering into elaborate discussions on difficult questions of interpretation, and doubtful readings. Yet when fuller examinations of difficult passages appear necessary they are not avoided but placed at the end of Chapters or of the several books, as separate dissertations.

The general plan was arranged by the Archbishop of York, by whom a company of divines was organized "who, by a judicious distribution of the labor amongst them, each might expound the portion of Scripture for which his studies might best have fitted him." The whole work being carried on under the general editorship of the Rev. H. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter.

The Commentary will be contained in ten volumes, viz. six for the Old Testament, and four for the New.—Of these, as already said, all but the last are now published. As the various volumes have appeared they have been

duly noticed in the REVIEW, so that it is unnecessary to refer again to the previous issues, any more than to repeat that the original design has been carefully and successfully carried out. There is no other Commentary which can take the place of this. Those who desire something for family use, something in which the unlearned may find condensed in a reasonable space an explanation of difficult passages, so far as recent research enables them to be explained, will find this Commentary the best that has yet been published.

Volume III, the one before us, contains the Epistles of S. Paul, including that to Philemon. The Epistle to the Hebrews, though advertised as being included, is not found in this volume, indeed it would have made it too bulky. The authors are as follows: Romans, by the Rev. E. H. Gefford, D.D.; Corinthians, by the Rev. Canon Evans; II. Corinthians, by the Rev. Joseph Waite; Galatians, by the Very Rev. J. S. Howson; Ephesians, by the Rev. J. F. Meinick; Philippians by the Very Rev. J. Gwynn; Colossians, I. and II. Thessalonians and Philemon by the Lord Bishop of Derry; Timothy and Titus, introduction by the Rev. H. Wace, M.A., Commentary and critical notes by the Lord Bishop of London. To each Epistle there is a very full introduction, setting forth the authorship with historical explanations and an analysis of each book: the additional notes at the ends of the chapters add greatly to the value of the work. As regards the Commentary itself, so far as we have been able to examine it, it is sufficiently full and satisfactory, no Commentary is entirely so. This has the advantage that it does not bewilder the mind of readers, as do so many others, by giving a great number of explanations of a difficult passage, and then elaborately proving them all to be mistaken. It gives, as a rule, that explanation the author believes to be most satisfactory and his reasons for so believing; and then relegates to the additional notes a statement of other opinions regarding it, when they are important. There is an advantage in this for ordinary readers. Take for example the difficult passage I. Cor. xv. 29 "What shall they do which are baptized for the dead, etc." Instead of giving the numerous interpretations, he gives the evident sense of the passage summed up thus briefly "If the resurrection is null, the Sacrament is void;" and so passes on; the critical notes being given separately at the end of the chapter. The great advantage of this Commentary is its

simplicity and directness ; and we recommend it to those who are looking for some aid for the family in studying the Holy Scriptures.

*Analytical Bible Treasury*: being Appendixes to the Analytical Concordance to the Bible. Designed for the use of Sabbath school teachers and Divinity students. By Robert Young, LL.D., etc. New York: I. K. Funk & Co. Edinburg: George Adam Young & Co.

The learned and industrious author of the "Analytical Concordance to the Bible" refers to the "Bible Treasury" as a needful complement to his Concordance. It consists of two Appendixes. The first gives an analytical survey of all the books of the Bible, as well as of all the facts and idiomatic peculiarities of Holy Scripture. It also presents a large number of themes and questions on biblical topics; and is accompanied by sixteen well engraved colored maps and plans of the Lands and Places of the Bible. The second Appendix (for Divinity students, etc.) contains a tolerably full Hebrew and English Lexicon to the old Testament, a discussion of the idiomatic use of the Hebrew and Greek tenses, and a condensed Greek and English Lexicon to the new Testament. In addition, there are given twenty-three pictorial views of Scripture scenery, and between thirty and forty facsimiles of portions of ancient MSS., as the Alexandrian, the Sinaitic, the Vatican, the Cottonian, etc.

*Biblical Notes and Queries*: A General Medium of Communication regarding Biblical Criticism and Bible Interpretation, Ecclesiastical History, Antiquities, Biography and Bibliography, Ancient and Modern Versions, Progress in Theological Science, Reviews of new Religious Books, etc. New York: I. K. Funk & Co. Edinburg: George Adam Young & Co.

"*Biblical Notes and Queries*," as is stated on the title-page, is devoted to a wide range of topics, such as criticism, history, biography, science, antiquities, etc. The materials are drawn from all quarters, ancient and modern, oriental, classical, and the like; and there is here brought together a large collection of valuable matter for the use of students and devout readers of Holy Scriptures. Dr. Young is an indefatigable worker in biblical subjects, and almost every conceivable question that can be asked, and attempted to be answered, is contained in this volume,

some of these questions, however, being more curious than edifying. Of course, Dr. Young, as a minister of the Scotch Kirk, is loyal to his position, and writes freely and straightforwardly on all occasions. In general we can agree with him, and we sympathize entirely with his sturdy maintenance of the genuineness and authenticity of the Books of Holy Scripture, and his setting forth and defending the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. As a churchman, we cannot but, at times, demur to his statements and reasonings; and we desiderate in his work a clearer recognition of the place and authority of the Catholic Church, in the great work of defining and upholding the faith, and preaching the Gospel to all nations. With this *caveat*, as due to our readers, and to the cause of truth as held by the Church from the beginning, we call attention to these volumes, and are quite ready to give our opinion that they will supply teachers of Bible classes and students of the Sacred records with much suggestive and profitable matter.

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*Commentary on the Gospel of Mark.* By Revere F. Weidner, M.A., B.D. Embracing the authorized Version of 1611 and the revised Version of 1881. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Bookstore.

This is a fit companion of Dr. Schaff's. We need not institute any comparison between them, inasmuch as both show eminent qualification as scholarly exegetes and thoroughly furnished Biblical students. We greatly admire the construction of this book. It shows judgment and skill in its adaptation to secure a definite end. The only ambition it displays is to disseminate saving knowledge. The Introduction, in itself, is a contribution to the literature of the Bible. It has put into a condensed and readable form all the certain knowledge that could be gathered, from various sources, touching the life of S. Mark—the proofs of the authorship of the Gospel—its characteristic features and its relation to the other synoptical writings.

The Chapter "on the revised version of the Gospel of S. Mark" will be specially prized by those interested in the study of the Bible who have not the helps and resources of teachers and books. In it they will find a brief notice of the different manuscripts of the New Testament and kindred information which is often desired by the ordinary reader. This Commentary contains two texts, the authorized version of 1611 and the revised version of 1881. They

are placed on opposite pages and make reference and comparison easy and inviting. Doubtless many will be induced to a more thorough examination of their relative merits by this happy juxtaposition. Mr. Weidner is in no haste to condemn the revision, while he is quick and frank in seeing and acknowledging its claim to scholarly consideration.

From a somewhat cursory examination of the comments on the text we are warranted in saying that they are judicious, concise and scholarly, showing the marks of close study and of emphatic religious experience. They do not propose to do the work of exegesis, or to formulate the proof of doctrine, but rather to illumine the text, and to aid the reader in finding the application of incident or truth to religious needs. It will amply fill its design as a guide and helper to teachers and parents in their instruction of the young, and will be valuable to all who look to the truth for light, comfort and edification.

The questions, at the foot of the page, are pertinent to the text and bring out the salient points as an aid to definite knowledge and appropriate application. This work will be another alluring invitation to a study of the Bible, and we congratulate the author on the character of his book and on the prospect of its usefulness.

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*The International Revision Commentary on the New Testament. Based upon the Revised Version of 1881.* By English and American scholars, and members of the Revision Committee. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. Vol. II. The Gospel according to Mark. Explained by Matthew B. Biddle, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Hartford, Conn. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is an abridgement of a new and large work by Dr. Schaff. The illustrations, the general introduction, the "Emendations of the old version, and the parallel passages of the "Illustrated Popular Commentary" are omitted. Thus the size of the book is greatly reduced and in price it is put within the reach of thousands who could not purchase the large work. But its form is not its only, or chief recommendation. "The readings and renderings of the American Committee" are placed as foot notes to the text, and the comments, on the text, are brief, clearly stated and very suggestive, adapted to the use of the majority of

Sunday School teachers and of those students of the Scriptures who do not possess or aspire after scholarship.

*The New Testament According to the Authorized Version, With Introduction and Notes.* By John Pilkington Norris, B.D., Canon of Bristol. In two volumes: Vol. II. The acts of the Apostles, The Epistles and the Revelations. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

We have here the second and last volume of this Commentary on the New Testament by the Rev. J. P. Norris, the first having been published about a year ago. In the Preface to that the author tells us the principle on which the work has been prepared. "Whatever I noted in my own reading, as helpful to the right understanding of God's Word, I endeavored to transfuse into briefest expression in these pages." And in doing this he has endeavored to answer these two questions: 1. What meaning were these words intended to convey to the men of that generation? and 2. What meaning does the Holy Spirit mean them to convey to me?" In answering these questions he has sought aid from Patristic and other Commentaries, and digested what he has thus obtained into these pages. "Exposition therefore is all that is aimed at." We must say that the author has been very successful in doing this, and has condensed much very valuable matter into a brief space, and his expositions are generally satisfactory.

Thus we have in these two volumes, which however are so paged and of such size that they may very conveniently be bound in one, an exposition of the New Testament, not sufficient to meet all the wants of the student, but sufficient to be of great help to the general reader of the Bible; and of a size and typography which make it easy to use; an "Index to the Notes," adds greatly to the convenience of the student.

*The Sacred Books of the East.* Translated by various Oriental scholars and edited by F. Max Müller. Vol. X. Oxford: 1881.

Part I. The Dhammapada, a Collection of verses, being one of the Canonical Books of the Buddhists. Translated from Pâli by F. Max Müller.

Part II. The Sutta-Nipâta, a Collection of Discourses, being one of the Canonical Books of the Buddhists. Translated from Pâli by V. Fausböll.

We have here two of the Buddhist Canonical books in careful translations by most competent scholars. The

Christian apologist in meeting the position of his adversaries that Christianity is but one of the many religions of the world, resting upon essentially the same basis as the others, can desire nothing more than that such books should be multiplied. They show to every reader the broad difference between the true and the various false religions, both on the claim made to a higher authority, and also in the moral character of the teaching. Undoubtedly Buddhism is one of the most excellent of the heathen systems; but its highest aim is a passionless, unloving, and unloveable indifference to all things. A very few extracts from the Dhammapada must suffice.

"Let, therefore, no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters." xvi. 211. "The best of virtues (is) passionlessness." xx. 273.

Some of the precepts, if taken by themselves and their words understood in a Christian sense might almost seem to inculcate Christian virtues. Thus "The Bhihshu who acts with kindness, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (Nirvâna), cessation of natural desires, and happiness." xxv. 368. "Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering" (*ib.* 376). "Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who is free from anger, dutiful, virtuous, without appetite, who is subdued, and has received his last body." xxvi. 400. But these precepts must be interpreted according to the sense of virtue and duty which pervades the treatise, and which, as already said, is passionless indifference to all things. This is carried so far that it can be disturbed by no misfortune and by no crime." A true Brâhmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects." xxi. 294.

The teaching of the Sutta-Nipâta is the same and is well summed up by the Translator in his introduction, p. xv, xvi. "What then is sin according to Buddha? Subjectively sin is desire, in all its various forms, vv. 923, 1103; viz. desire for existence generally, vv. 776, 1059, 1067, and especially for name and form, *i.e.*, individual existence, vv. 354, 1099. \*\*\* But desire originates in the body, vv. 270, 1099; sin lies objectively in embodiment or matter, and consequently the human body is looked upon as a contemptible thing."

A simple extract from this latter treatise must suffice.



It is from chap. 3. Khaggaiṅgāsutta, v. 3. He who has compassion on his friends and confidential (companions) loses (his own) advantage, having a fettered mind; seeing this danger in friendship let one wander alone like a rhinoceros."

*The Sacred Books of the East.* Translated by various Oriental scholars and edited by F. Max Müller. Vol. XI. Buddhist Suttas translated from Pāli by T. W. Rhys Davids. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

The Pāli texts of the Buddhists' sacred books are the earliest form in which they were committed to writing, after having been orally preserved for some centuries. The author considers that the statement in the *Dīpavamsa* that the Buddhist Scriptures were in books in Ceylon "towards the beginning of the first century before our era" (Introd. p. xxii) is probably correct, since that work, which belongs to about the fourth century of our era, "reproduces the continuous tradition of the monasteries." The translation of these earliest texts is most important to the student of Buddhism. In the view of the author "It is not too much to say that the discovery of early Buddhism has placed all previous knowledge of the subject in a new light; and has turned the flank, so to speak, of most of the existing literature on Buddhism" (*ib.* p. xxv).

The author has selected for this volume from the great wealth of material at his command, not those treatises which he considered would be most interesting, but those likely to give the "most correct and adequate" idea "of Buddhist legend, gospel, controversial theology and ethics." He considers that the age of the writings here reproduced may be fixed without much uncertainty "at about the latter end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century before the commencement of the Christian era." The treatises chosen are:

1. The Book of the Great Decease (*i. e.*, the death of Gotama) and corresponds in the Buddhist system somewhat to the Gospels among the Christian Scriptures.
2. The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness.
3. The Discussion on knowledge of the Three Vedas ("a controversial dialogue on the right method of attaining a union with Brahma").
4. The Sutta entitled "If he should desire."
5. The Treatise on Barrenness and Bondage—treating of the Buddhist order of Mendicants from the moral point of view.

## 6. The Legend of the Great King of Glory.

7. The Sutta entitled "Asavas." This last treatise lays down the essential principles of Buddhist Agnosticism.

A sentence of the author while he is explaining the great difficulties he found in translating is well worthy of citation: "So perfectly dovetailed is the old Buddhist system, so utterly different from European Christianity are the ideas involved, so pregnant are the expressions used with deep and earnest religious feelings resting on a foundation completely apart from our own, that the translation of each term becomes a problem of great difficulty and delicacy." In a note on p. 62 he sums up in a word the whole of early Buddhism as "simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control."

And again, p. 142: "Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth so simple in its nature, so free from any superhuman agency, so independent of, so antagonistic to the belief in a soul, the belief in God, and the hope of a future life."

The volume is put forth with all the typographical excellence to be expected from the Clarendon Press.

- *Sermons to the People.* Preached chiefly in S. Paul's Cathedral by H. P. Liddon, D.D., Canon Residentiary of S. Paul's and Ireland, Professor at Oxford. With a Preface by the American Editor. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

Pulpit literature, however popular, is not always profitable or safe. Many sermons that have been effective in the pulpit, through oral delivery and its accessories, become vapid and dry when issued from the press and subjected to criticism. These sermons of Canon Liddon are an eminent exception. They will bear the most scrutinizing test of literary art, sound theology, acute exegesis and homiletic skill. Again they are specimens of direct, pungent and practical preaching, with a definite aim never wavering, and a clear objective that rouses all the energy, pathos and enthusiasm of a devout and consecrated teacher whose mission has been joyfully accepted with all its fearful obligation. We can scarcely name their equals, either in the past or present of published sermons, in all the elements of scholarly culture transfused and directed by the one dominating purpose of a sanctified calling.

A marked characteristic is visible in them all: viz., the easy flow of clarified thought, the result of diligent study

by a man of exceptional ability, and a compactness of construction that reveals a master builder. Their entire staple, whether in discussion of doctrine, enforcement of practical truth or didactic illustration of the obligations of the Christian life, is timely and congruous. Nothing is employed to display scholarship, to parade oratory or to gain personal applause.

Much time and effort are frequently worse than wasted in the pulpit by grappling with speculative errors in philosophy or theology that *have had* and *ever will have* a periodic life as long as human nature is unredeemed from the bondage of sin. No little of the alleged defence of the truth is positively harmful. The logic that fails to kill a scientific assumption, or a hoary error that has been revived by a false philosophy in every age from the second or third century to the present day, by scotching it *only*, arouses it to a more successful and satanic activity. Dr. Liddon never disinters heresies from the ashes of the past as an evidence of skillful exploiting, while he does most powerfully antagonize and discomfit the practical skepticism of the age as it shows itself in living and concrete forms.

Doubtless one reason for the excellence of these sermons, apart from the mental capacity and equipment of their author, is his moral earnestness not unfrequently intensified to white heat by his yearning for souls. He has an exalted conception of his calling and subordinates all the forces of his nature to his work, hence his sincerity, singleness of purpose and versatile power, combined with a deft practical sense, make him strong in all the resources of the pulpit.

We are glad to have the opportunity of commending such sermons to the American Church. They are educational in their form and essence and their thoughtful study would be fruitful of spiritual growth and power in both clergy and people.

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*The Candle of the Lord, and other Sermons*, by the Rev. Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Nearly twenty years ago, there appeared in one of the numbers of the old *Church Monthly* a sermon which, we are sure, made more than one reader say, "here once more is a great preacher." The sermon was on the text, "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal," — and the author of

it was the Rev. Phillips Brooks. Just what kind of a preacher he would grow to be was far from certain, but the evidences of unusual preaching power were unmistakable. He might easily have developed into a producer of mystical essays under the name of sermons, having little available connection with common life. It needs not to say that he has become a preacher specially distinguished as practical and helpful. To be sure, if it were worth while to be critical we might say that his wonderful fancy is not always under due control as, *e. g.*, when he builds an entire sermon on the metaphor contained in his text rather than on the subject of the text itself; and, too, it might be suggested that the distinct and formal teaching of doctrine cannot be superfluous, even not to say especially in Boston. And yet one hesitates to make such a remark as this last after reading some of these sermons, as, *e. g.*, that for Trinity Sunday, or, indeed to make any criticism upon preaching of such rare merit and value. For, truly, how faithful, bold, searching, tender, loving these sermons are! How beyond question the foremost thought in them is to do good to the hearer. To this end what a wonderful energy mental and spiritual goes pouring through them — what a clear comprehensive look is in them on what men on all sides are doing, saying, and thinking — how the conduct of the time is described, how its motives are analyzed, and its philosophies tested and weighed. To this end how wholly is brought into service the genius that goes through a subject like a sunbeam; what a strong persuasiveness lays its grasp upon the heart of the hearer; how simple, common and business-like the sermons are in plan and diction. Every endowment of the preacher is employed to the full for the souls in his congregation. Freely he has received, and freely he gives. He has been more than once likened to Robertson; but in nothing is the resemblance more striking than in his devotedness to the benefit of those to whom his words may come. Often in reading him we are reminded of Lacordaire — he has the same fine, delicate clear quality of imagination and expression; but in this he is the superior of the French preacher that he allows to appear less of the orator's art while he has closer sympathy with his audience, their temptations, errors, sins, deliverances, hopes.

It would be a useful exercise in homiletics to many a minister to make a study of this volume. We saw a few days ago in a second-hand book-store the library of an

honored clergyman of ours recently deceased. Alas, the dreary rows of books of sermons by Church of England authors of the XVIII. century — leather inside, as well as out, commonplace in thought, dull in expression, with no merit in them that we know of, and the reading of which by a clergyman could only make his own preaching the poorer. If we might presume to advise our brethren in the ministry we would say let that kind of sermon go to the paper-mill as soon as possible and put on your shelves for models of preaching in this age and among this people such books as this before us.

Laymen, too, would find these sermons eminently useful to them and their families, building them up in faith and a good conscience, and “in the comfort of a reasonable religious and holy hope.”

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*The Village Pulpit*: A Complete Course of 66 short sermons, or full Sermon-Outlines for each Sunday and some chief Holy Days of the Christian Year. By the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A. Vol. I. Advent to Whitsunday, Vol. II. Trinity to Advent. London: W. Skeffington & Son.

Those who have already learned to value the publications of the Rev. Mr. Baring-Gould will gladly welcome these recent additions to our sermon literature, while those who may thus for the first time make the acquaintance of our author will find at once in the two works now under notice the secret of his rather remarkable success in this line of composition. Believing in something more than a hum-drum essay of the required length upon some moral or religious subject, he seeks throughout his discourses, by plain, vigorous language and with the aid of pertinent illustration or anecdote, to instruct and edify the congregation in the great truths of the Gospel.

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*Village Preaching for Saints' Days*. By the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A. London: W. Skeffington & Son.

The *Village Pulpit*, although not claiming to be anything more than a collection of sketches rather than of finished sermons, follows the course of the ecclesiastical seasons, and deals with many of the leading topics belonging to the well-ordered system of the Church's Theology. Usually, the discourses are arranged under the heads of Introduction, Subject, and Conclusion, and while in all points they may not be such as all would endorse, yet there are very

few seriously-minded persons who would fail to be profited by them. They evidently are written by a man of experience who knows what is wanted in the pulpit, and uses his best talents to supply that need. The Saints' Days sermons have been especially prepared to complete the author's former volumes of Village Preaching for the Sundays, the many readers of which made frequent requests for this supplement. Seizing the main lessons of each day he seeks to disclose to the casual observer the great advantages resulting from a due observance of this too-much-neglected part of the Christian Year. Recent public events and matters of every day life furnish him oftentimes with apt illustrations, and the morals which he draws from his subjects are always important and practical.

The series will be found very helpful to over-worked clergymen in suggesting, perhaps, new ways in treating the old truths, as well as in bringing to the front truths that are too frequently kept in the back-ground. Many of the sermons would prove profitable for reading at the week-day services during Advent and Lent, and might well be added to the stock for Lay-readers. For private reading and study, too, they can be safely recommended.

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*Conciones ad Clerum*, 1879-80. By A. N. Littlejohn, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Long Island. Third Edition. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

This volume has received the endorsement of successive editions. The demand is proof of a felt necessity for its instruction. The topics, the staple of thought by which they are developed and the trenchant presentation will give permanence to the book, and we will be disappointed if more and larger editions do not follow.

We know of no better guide to the rector in all the departments of his work. It suggests a harmony in the expenditure of time and talents—as preacher and pastor—for the Pulpit and the Parish, and is corrective of all low, selfish and secularizing aims that may intrude themselves into the mind of the minister.

“Clergy and People,” “The Cure of Souls,” “The Grace of Ordination. How to quicken and develop it” are its themes. Their treatment is novel and suggestive—broad and scholarly—servently spiritual and intensely practical. Their counsel is wise and fatherly, and the Clergy under his charge should be stronger in aims and

more skillful in aggression and defence, by reason of such oversight and leadership.

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*Plain Preaching for a Year.* Third Series. Edited by the Rev. Edmund Fowle. London: W. Skeffington & Son.

The favor which attended the publication of the first two series of his work has induced the editor to put forth the present volume, which contains seventeen discourses of a plain, practical character, by different authors, extending from Advent to Quinquagesima. As may be supposed from their varied origin, they are of varied merit, but as most of the writers are preachers of successful experience, the book is calculated to prove of general benefit. We miss the illustrations and anecdotes belonging to Mr. Baring-Gould's publications, and cannot but feel that it would have been better to use them, at least to a greater extent. This might have been done without taking away from that merit of brevity which the editor seems to have had prominently in mind. The work is to be completed in four quarterly parts, the second of which is announced for an early day in the present year.

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*Meditations on the Creed.* By Arthur C. A. Hall (of the Society of S. John the Evangelist), Assistant Rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston. New York: James Pott. London: J. T. Hayes.

We have read very carefully this little work, and can commend it to those who wish to make each article of the Creed the subject of prayer and meditation. Every page is suggestive.

"Each article of the Creed, enshrining some truth of God's revelation, is to be cherished not only as a dogma for the intellect to hold, but as a motive and a help to holiness, a restraint from evil, and an incitement to virtue." This Mr. Hall very clearly sets forth, and his manual is one that ought to be in the devotional library of every believer.

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*The Presence and Office of the Holy Spirit.* Six Addresses given at the Church of S. John the Evangelist. Wilton Road, in the Parish of S. Peter's, Eaton Square, May 16th and 18th. With three Sermons preached at S. Peter's, Eaton Square, by the Right Rev. Alan Becher Webb, D.D., Bishop of Bloemfontein. London: W. Skeffington & Son. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

The work undertaken by the author of this volume is well done. Doubtless he had had reason to know, by his visitation of the churches under his charge, that very indefinite, if not very erroneous, ideas largely prevailed as to the person and office of the Holy Spirit. Perhaps no tenet of theology, or no Bible truth, of such practical importance to the spiritual life, comfort and usefulness of the individual Christian, is so loosely held. Neither in the meditation nor in the conversation of truly religious persons is the Holy Spirit often the subject, and the ignorance touching His relation to the work and teaching of Christ, and His direct ministration of guidance, comfort, and strength, is lamentable and is unquestionably the cause of much of the barrenness and inefficiency in our churches.

These sermons were designed to be practical and to meet the need to which allusion has been made. They enter into no controversy, but in a simple, direct and striking way present the Biblical basis, by way of texts, for the doctrines illustrated and enforced. They will be timely and useful here, as doubtless they were in the Parish where they were first given, if their reading be accompanied with reflection and prayer.

The three additional Sermons are substantially of the same character and were designed to remove false conceptions that hinder the full development of Christian character and life.

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*Hours with the Bible.* By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. Vol. III. From Samson to Solomon. With Illustrations. New York: James Pott.

An elaborate notice of this volume is scarcely necessary. The author's special qualification for this department of religious literature has been long and generally recognized. His "Life of Christ" gave him European and American reputation second to none in the line of graphic representation of Biblical history or biography. The Church owes a large debt of gratitude to him for his "labor of love" in giving vividness of interest to sacred places, times and persons, thus largely increasing the inducements and multiplying the helps to an earnest and profitable study of the Bible.

This new volume, while embracing all the excellencies of its fore-runners, gives additional proof of the Dr.'s alertness of intellect and breadth of attainment. The topics,



for their full and successful treatment, call for a larger measure of analytic talent than those that have previously occupied his attention. While the didactic element is here, as before, constant and eminent, yet the writer has had occasion for a different order of talent. He has had to diagnose and formulate the causes of wars, with their consequences in political and religious relations—to give the philosophical basis of national organization under exceptional conditions—to state the history, design and results of the Prophetic office with discriminating notices of the Prophetic characters—and to photograph, in sharp delineations, two of the most notable personages in Old Testament history.

The contents are as follows: Chap. 1. Samson and Eli. 2. Eli. 3. Samuel and the Rise of the Prophets. 4. The first Hebrew King. 5. The Rejected of God. 6. David. 7. David an Outlaw. 8. The Reign of David. 9. Organization of the Kingdom. 10. The Wars of David. 11. The Fall of David. 12. The Rebellion of Absalom. 13. Close of David's Reign. 14. Palestine in Solomon's Day. 15. Solomon B.C. 1015—975. 16. The Temple of Solomon. 17. The Later Days of Solomon. 18. The Book of Proverbs and the Song of Songs.

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*Letters Literary and Theological of Connop Thirlwall, late Lord Bishop of S. David's.* Edited by the Very Rev. J. J. Stewart Perowne, D.D., and the Rev. Louis Stokes, B. A. London: Bentley & Son. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

*Letters to a Friend.* By Connop Thirlwall, late Lord Bishop of S. David's. Edited by the Very Rev. Arthur Peurhyn Stanley, D.D. London: Bentley & Son. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

Not even Bishop Wilberforce's "Life and Correspondence" has been looked for with more interest than the "Letters of Bishop Thirlwall." The one was in action what the other was in thought and prudence; the one was ubiquitous, the other all-seeing; the one illustrated what it is possible for a Bishop to do, the other what a Bishop may be; the one created a fresh standard for the Episcopate of the English Church, the other was "an exponent of the most valuable of the traditions of the English Church." The editors of these volumes, Dean Perowne and Dean Stanley, have done but little for the memory of Bishop Thirlwall; Mr. Stokes has brought together in

continuous order the letters or other documents that constitute his memoir; but essentially his memorial consists of his own correspondence. This is excellent in kind and as self-revealing as the Bishop's volume permitted. The letters begin as early as 1810 and come down to 1875, the year of his death. They are upon a great variety of subjects, but chiefly illustrate his literary and theological career. Taken with his charges and essays, which are published in three companion volumes, they give one a keener relish than he had before for the profound thoughtfulness of his best work and set forth what was most characteristic of a man, who has been called the greatest theological mind in the English Church during the present century. The time has now come to look at him and his work as a whole. Meanwhile, it may be said, that no brighter letters have been published for many a day. They are cheerful and learned and thoughtful by turns. One obtains a vivid mental portrait of the great Bishop as he reads them.

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### III. HISTORY.

*Studies on the English Reformation.* By J. Williams, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Connecticut. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

We hail with great pleasure the publication of these "Lectures," not merely because of their intrinsic value, great as that is, but because they certify, so to speak, an epoch in the literature of the American Church. Attention has frequently been called to the publications of the Bampton, Hulsean and other lectures, with the hope that some wealthy man in this country might be moved to confer a like benefit on our Church by furnishing the means for the establishment of similar Lectureships. This hope has now been realized, by the establishment of the Boylan, and now more recently of the Bishop Paddock Lectureship.

"In the summer of the year 1880, George A. Jarvis of Brooklyn, N. Y., moved by his sense of the great good which might thereby accrue to the cause of Christ, and to the Church, of which he was an ever grateful member, gave to the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church certain securities exceeding in value eleven thousand dollars for the foundation and maintenance of a Lectureship in said Seminary."

“Out of love to a former Pastor and endearing friend, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Henry Paddock, D.D., Bishop of Massachusetts, he named the Foundation “THE BISHOP PADDOCK LECTURESHIP.”

The subjects proposed for these Lectures are very general, being either for the defence of the religion of Jesus Christ, as revealed in the *Holy Bible*, and illustrated in the *Book of Common Prayer*, against the varying errors of the day”; or for the “defence and confirmation” of its “central truths,” and “of such central facts as the *Church's Divine Order and Sacraments*, her historical *Reformation*, and her rights and powers as a pure and National Church.” The Dean of the Seminary, and the Bishops of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Long Island are the “Board of Appointment,” created by the Trust.

By the special request of the Founder, the subject being also suggested by him before the appointment of this Board, the Bishop of Connecticut was to be the first lecturer.

The Church is deeply indebted to Mr. Jarvis both for the appointment and for the subjects. And the course of Lectures is worthily inaugurated by one of the most venerable and learned of our Bishops, one whom all respect and reverence, and who by his learning and wisdom is specially fitted for the treatment of a subject which demands such careful consideration in these days. It was our good fortune to be present at all but one of these Lectures. And we hailed with gratitude, as a good omen the fact, that each successive Lecture brought together a larger attendance.

The line of treatment followed differs in many respects from that usually taken by popular speakers or writers on the Reformation. They are not attacks on the errors of the Church of Rome, but a dignified statement and defence of the principles and position of the Church of England, showing that by the Reformation, she in no way separated herself from the Church Catholic either in discipline, doctrine or worship, but only resumed her true position as a free branch of the Universal Church, ridding herself from the shackles wherewith a foreign tyranny had bound her, obeying the Apostle's injunction: “Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage” and that this liberty was not “used for a cloak of wickedness,” but kept under wise restraints of law and order, on the ancient rule of Primitive Christianity.

This is set forth in five lectures as follows: I. The General Call for Reformation—Its Causes and possible Methods. II. Evils to be reformed—Agents—Principle acted on—Sources of Information, and alleged Variations. III. Abolition of Papal Jurisdiction in England. IV. Royal Supremacy. V. Doctrine. These titles indicate the line of argument, but only a reading of the book can show how ably and convincingly the subjects are treated. We earnestly recommend its careful study to two classes; viz. to those who have been taught that the Church of England began with Henry VIII., and was the creation of Parliament; and to those who have been assailed by fears lest in breaking loose from the usurped authority of Rome the English Church may run the chances of separating herself from the Communion of the Church Catholic. These subjects are specially treated in Lectures III and IV.

In speaking of the causes of the Reformation the Bishop makes this most important distinction, one ever to be borne in mind by readers of history, especially Church History.—

“Let me say a word as to the importance in historical studies of carefully distinguishing between causes and occasions. An occasion furnishes the opportunity for action; but the causes of the action lie further back, and did they not exist the occasion would pass unheeded. There is no error more common, none more disastrous to all true study of history, than this confusion of cause and occasion.” p. 21.

He makes this distinction to show the fallacy of the charge that the desire of Henry VIII. to get a divorce from his wife was the cause of the Reformation, it offered an occasion, but never could have been a cause. The causes lay much further back and had been accumulating for years. Of these, three are selected as “most energetic and far-reaching, for examination”—The Papacy: The Revival of Learning, and the undue prominence given in the Church, of the period, to the objective grace of the Sacraments and ordinances, and the corporate life of the members to an obscuring if not displacement of the recognition “of the individual duty and the individual life.” In other words the objective side of Christianity had been by mediæval divines so prominently insisted on, that the subjective had been almost ignored. “Corporate membership in the Church as all in all, an exaggerated idea of the value of a perfunctory discharge of routine and merely external duties, ‘the form of godliness without the power,’

must inevitably have been the outcome of all this. And this as much as, perhaps more than, anything else honey-combed the Church with corruption, and brought the social state of Europe to rottenness. Possibly nothing short of a passionate reclamation against such an overslaughting of personal religion and individual responsibility, so passionate that it disturbed the balance between the two sides of Christian Anthropology, could have aroused the hearts and consciences of men. And such a reclamation was the real work of Luther. Such a reclamation was not wanting in England."

The called-for Reformation could be attempted, it is shown, in one of three ways, either by a General Council, which was impossible because of the opposition of Rome; by Individual Efforts, which shaped it in Germany and Switzerland; or by National Churches, as in England.

"As I look back on that eventful period, and forward from that period to the present, I stand in reverent awe and thankful adoration before the vision of the overruling and protecting hand of God, and recognize His seal upon the work, His living power in its outcomes. I see our favored Church preserved from becoming a sect bearing the impress and the name of any single leader. I see it doing its work on principles, that with whatever failure in individual or single acts, have stood the tests of time. I see it checked, when a check was needed, and the check removed, when it would have worked to evil..... And then I see it as it is to-day, rising to a nobler, fuller, life, stretching out from its isolation in 'Britain severed from the world' to every continent and the islands of the sea; speaking a language that seems likely to be to the world in coming days what the Greek was at the Lord's first coming, and yet give the nations where it goes God's Word and worship in their own several tongues; carrying everywhere the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers. Is it not God's doing all this? Could man alone ever have accomplished it? Do not the pulses throb and the heart swell at all these tokens of God's immediate presence? Are not cowardice, distrust, despondency, rebuked? Are we not forced to say, whatever may be our anxieties and forebodings concerning present troubles

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'God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed; God shall help her and that right early.'

*East of the Jordan. A Record of Travel and Observation in the countries of Moab, Gilead and Bashan, during the Years 1875-1877.* By Selah Merrill, Archæologist of the American Palestine Exploration Society. With Illustrations and a Map. With an Introduction by Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., President of Union Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The literature of archæological investigation is assuming vast proportions. We deliberately use the term literature because of the versatility of knowledge which the archæologist is compelled to employ in illustration of his work, and because of the large addition he makes to the general fund. Not only the art and architecture of buried nations are unearthed, but their social, political and religious life is re-vivified by observation, history and logic supplementing the spade and pick. Schliemann and Smith have made us almost as familiar with the usages of the Trojan, Assyrian and Babylonian populations, as we are with the domestic, social and civic life of classic Greece and Rome.

Western Palestine has long been a field of research, and the Biblical student is familiar with what has been accomplished in identifying Sacred sites, and knows the value of the confirmatory proof derived from such sources. This book has unusual and exceptional value. The country east of the Jordan is a region of which Bible dictionaries say but little, and that little is not characterized by accurate knowledge. It has remained comparatively unexplored because of the difficulty and hazard attending minute and organized research. The territory is in the possession of the wild Bedawin and the danger to the ordinary traveler, much more to the explorer who would suggest suspicious curiosity and probably something more to the Arab mind, has hitherto delayed and deterred continuous and detailed examination.

Mr. Merrill, of Andover, Mass., was appointed archæologist of the American Palestine Exploration society, sailed in June, 1875, and arrived at Bairut August 9th. Although somewhat hindered, in his preparatory movements, by the prevalence of cholera, he soon gathered his party and entered upon his work. Notwithstanding all the diversified discouragements and obstacles, he was successful because his character adapted him to the enterprise he had in hand. He had the requisite patience, energy and persistence, and withal a shrewdness that enabled him to read aright the Arab character and to gain

the confidence of each new Sheikh which secured him hospitality and liberty of travel.

As the result of his labor, dangers and qualifications we have a fuller conception of the Trans-Jordan Palestine both in its present and past conditions. The topography of the region and the character of the present population, together with the remains of the precedent and successive cities, disinterred, are all made intensely interesting by the romantic danger that necessarily inheres in the story. The Lejah region, with its extinct volcanoes and immense lava plains, and the buried "cities of Bashan" are made the occasion of a recital as captivating to the scholar as any novel can be to the ordinary reader. His familiarity with the Arabic language facilitated the task of identifying ancient, or Biblical, with modern sites.

In the early Christian period, Bashan maintained a unique civilization, compounded of Oriental, Greek and Roman elements, which was submerged by the tide of Moslem invasion. It has been his effort, and with much success, to uncover the insignia of that defunct life as it is now symbolized in private houses, public buildings and temples, with heathen classic or Christian inscriptions that mark the successive influences that gave character to the respective periods.

We would like to transfer to this notice some extracts from the preface to De Vogiié's "Syrie Centrale; Architecture civile et religieuse" on the importance of the ruins in Bashan as throwing light on the history of architecture, but must refer the reader to Mr. Merrill's book itself, where he will find an entire chapter on the subject. Evidently the Greco-Syrian architects and artists had much to do in the formation of the tastes and tendencies of the middle ages.

We most heartily commend this book to all who are interested in archæological studies. What may hereafter be done by the English Exploration Society, in the same field, will not detract from the value of Mr. Merrill's work. It has an introduction by Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., an excellent map, a good index, numerous and satisfactory illustrations, and is tasteful in type and binding.

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*English Constitutional History from the Teutonic to the Present Time.* By Thomas Pit Taswell-Langmead, B.C.L., Second Edition. Revised throughout; with Additions. London: Stevens & Haynes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Hallam's great work on this subject only covers the period from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of

George II., though it covers that limited period much more minutely than the present volume. Mr. Taswell-Langmead takes up briefly the whole subject of the beginning, growth, and present development of the British Constitution, with the close, compact, definite treatment of each point, with the wants of the student rather than the instruction of the general reader in view, and with the purpose of articulating what has been done in the development of constitutional government in Great Britain from the beginning. To properly review this book is not our purpose; for few Americans can claim the range of study or the knowledge of original authorities necessary to such a task; to appreciate it and understand its importance and value is the limit of the notice; and it often happens with the best books that an educated man can appreciate works which are utterly beyond his own power of production. Not that Mr. Taswell-Langmead's work shows genius, but it takes a life-time to bring the materials together for a work like this and weld them into a consistent whole in which the lines of historical development can be clearly traced. The author has done precisely this thing, and it may be said without fear of contradiction, that for educational purposes this is the most important work on the British Constitution that has yet been written with perhaps the exception of Dr. Stubbs' great work.

Mr. Walter Bugeholt's work on the same subject is intended rather to trace the way in which the constitution has been modernized within the present century, than to show the historical processes by which it reached the point of the Magna Charta, then of the Petition of Rights, and finally the Bill of Rights, which are the three great landmarks of English Constitutional history, and was completed by the Act of Settlement. The text is clear and readable, the notes are numerous and easily accessible at the foot of the page, and the work is thoroughly equipped with digests of each chapter and with a very complete index, for the use its author had in mind. In this edition the final chapter on "the Progress of the Constitution since the Revolution" has been essentially rewritten and treats with adequate fulness the important topics which fall within the post-revolutionary period. Taken in connection with Prof. Charles Duke George's continuation of Hallam's "Constitutional History of England" from 1760 to 1880, which has just appeared, one has the best possible apparatus for the study of English institutions on the side



of law and order; as in Mr. J. R. Green's "History of the English People," he has the best work in which to trace the influence of these institutions on the organization of society. Mr. Taswell-Langmead's work is essential to any consistent and directive and integrating knowledge of English institutions or of their historical development. It is something to be thankful for that the English edition can now be had as an American book.

*History of S. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island.*  
By the Rev. William H. Moore, D.D., Rector. New York:  
E. P. Dutton & Co.

Occasionally a clergyman enters upon the charge of an interesting and venerable parish, and among other things which he sets himself to do to distinguish his ministry is an early effort to gather up its annuals and shape them into historical discourses. As a consequence, these discourses are superficial and more or less imperfect both in detail and statement of fact. One should reside a long time in a place and become familiar with its oldest inhabitants as well as with its antiquities and traditions before he ventures to put in print and offer to the public, whether in the form of discourses or connected narrative, what he calls a history of the origin and growth of his parish.

Dr. Moore has been well nigh a generation Rector of S. George's Church, Hempstead, and was therefore peculiarly fitted to undertake the task which he has so well accomplished in this little work, and to which he seems to have been led "from a grateful recollection of the quiet and happiness" enjoyed during his long Rectorship. The parish, almost coeval with the charter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was one of the first plantings of that Society; and of the eleven Rectors who have served it from 1704, Dr. Moore has been the longest in charge, having accepted the Rectorship in the summer of 1849. His pages show that he has made his researches into its history very carefully; and the quaint old records produced in the volume carry the reader back to ante-Revolutionary times and to the troubles and trials which befell the Church during the struggle of the colonies for Independence. It was in this parish that the youth of the first Bishop of Connecticut was sheltered while his father—Samuel Seabury—was the Missionary; and soon after his return from England in Holy Orders, he was himself stationed at Jamaica in the neighborhood and had

much to do, upon the death of his father, in directing the churchmen at Hempstead and helping them to secure Mr. Leonard Cutting to fill the vacancy. Both the elder Seabury and Mr. Cutting were gentlemen who bore the dignity of their office in the costume of the day, — small clothes, shoes with silver buckles, or topboots, powdered hair and three-cornered hats. The fashion of those olden times has passed away, and it is only by such researches as Dr. Moore has made that we get glimpses of it as it prevailed a hundred years ago.

Bishop Seabury occasionally visited his friends in Hempstead and admitted Mr. John Lowe, a gentleman from Virginia to Holy orders in S. George's Church, Nov. 3rd, 1785, which was the first ordination of an Episcopal clergyman within the limits of the State of New York. It has not been ascertained that he administered at this time the Rite of Confirmation. His visit, however, so soon after his return from England, was of several days' duration, for in the *New York Packet* of Monday, Oct. 27, 1785, is this paragraph: "We are informed that the Rev. Bishop Seabury preached last Sabbath at Hempstead, Long Island, to a large congregation."

Dr. Moore's volume will be appreciated beyond the parish for which it was especially written, and should find a place in the library of the student of American history.

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*Dictionary of the English Church.* Ancient and Modern. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co.

When this volume was received from the American publishers, it was our intention to make it the subject of a long notice, for the purpose of showing that it, or any other work of the kind, is of value as an authority to American Churchmen aside from any other merit it may possess. The necessity for such a notice was done away when Mr. Chancellor Judd's able article—in the present number—was received, and we need now only add that the Dictionary has been carefully prepared and for a volume of its size—479 octavo pages—is comprehensive both in subjects and the treatment of them.

It is more than idle for Churchmen to claim that the laws of the English Ecclesiastical System, which we adopted, have no force in the American Church, when not abrogated by direct legislation of this Church. It will require something more than individual opinion to annul

what has all along been held by the Civil Courts and the ablest canonists of the Church to be a part of the law of the American Church.

*The Catacombs of Rome. As illustrating the Church of the first three centuries.* By the Right Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of California. Fourth Edition. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

The value and excellence of this book have been acknowledged by repeated editions. It professes to be a compilation, the materials of which have been gathered from various sources, and yet it is entitled to a higher character. Selection and combination of historical proofs, so as to accomplish a definite result or warrant a predetermined conclusion, demand both knowledge and skill. These this author evidently has, and he has vindicated his effort by success. He visited Rome himself in 1845, therefore to his quotations, from the large works of such archæologists as Arringhi and Maitland, he imparts the freshness of his own recollections.

The material, although greatly compressed, is so arranged topically as to clearly prove what he designed, viz. that the present "Church of Rome" is vastly different from the Church of the first three centuries. The idolatry and tyrannous authority of the Papacy need no clearer condemnation or better refutation, in addition to the New Testament constitution of the Church, than the revelation of the Catacombs.

*Armand Dubarry. Splendeurs et Misères de la Cour de Rome. Histoire Anecdotique de la Papauté Depuis Son Origine Jusqu'à nos Jours.* Paris: Maurice Dreyfous, Editeur.

To give within the limits of three hundred pages a true and yet somewhat sarcastic account of the chief features of interest in the Papal Court from its origin to its decline, is the declared intention of M. Dubarry. Although giving a fair representation of the splendors and miseries of the Court life of the Vatican down to the abolition of temporal power in the reign of Pius IX. the Misères seem to predominate. After every vivid description of the glories of the reigns of the Popes there is a sombre or witty reflection which is irresistible and convincing as the writer—evidently a Protestant—speaks from experience, all his observations being the result of many years spent in Rome

in contact with the leading men of the Roman Catholic Church. The following Readings will give an idea of the topics touched upon, none of them being elaborated. "Les Romains sous la Papauté," "Les Jésuites," "Les Chantres pontificaux," "L'Élection des Papes," "Le Carnaval de Rome," "La fin de la Cour papale.—Pie IX."

*Epochs of Ancient History. Rome and Carthage.* The Punic Wars. By R. Baswarth Smith, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This little work has been, as the author states in the preface, condensed for the American publishers. It is remarkably clear in the outlines of the history of the two leading cities engaged in the conflict. Although the reader may regret any condensation of the frank and just account of the Punic wars given in the larger work, he cannot fail to rise from its perusal convinced that in the words of the writer, the balance has been restored. For while, as Mr. Smith remarks, The Eternal City has and always will have her admirers and eulogists, Carthage, the site of which alone remains, has heretofore been somewhat overlooked or depreciated. He feels the injustice of this, and although disclaiming all doubt as to Rome's right to lead and her victory resulting in greater civilization than had Carthage been victor, yet he presents with warmth and skill the noble characteristics of the doomed city. The chapters upon the Carthaginian hero, Hannibal, are particularly interesting, showing the author to be a careful student of character as well as a patient searcher after truth, even when found in the stones and fragments of ruined cities.

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#### IV. BIOGRAPHY.

*James T. Fields: Biographical Notes and Personal Sketches.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This is the first time that an American publisher has had his biography written. Ordinarily the publisher has his name on the title pages of his books in this world and is without literary immortality. This is not the case with Mr. Fields. He was author, in a small way, as well as publisher, but more than his authorship, which chiefly grew out of his relations with the authors whose volumes he published, was his guardianship of American letters and of what was best in them at the culmination

of what we may best call the transcendental period. His name will always be delightfully associated with the names of Holmes, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Whittier, and Emerson, and with Fulton, King, Whipple, Hillard, and Thoreau,—names only less than these,—as one of the best friends our literature ever had. His biography, which is somewhat scrappy in its character, necessarily scrappy while his correspondence is so closely related to living persons that it cannot be published, is a loving and tender tribute from a wife to her husband's memory. There is very much in it that relates to men and women of letters and Mr. Fields appears to advantage in it, but the full mass is not brought out, nor is his chief service to letters duly enunciated. It is yet too early to give a correct estimate of Mr. Fields,—he held a place so peculiar in the world of letters that his work entitles him to an amount of attention which his purely literary abilities never could have obtained for him. Yet this does not imply that Mrs. Fields has not written an interesting and readable book; this she has done, and her success is greater than could have been expected. She has not only given us close glimpses of the man himself, but has made one of the best volumes of American literary biography that has as yet been written. What we mean to say is that the part of Mr. Fields' life, his services in bringing authors forward to public recognition and in introducing Tennyson, Browning, De Quincy, and other English authors to an American public, which has interest for the world of letters, is not brought out by Mrs. Fields, as it might have been, even to-day. Her book can stand on its own merits, but she does not do much to reproduce a side of her husband's life in which the public is most interested.

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*Memorials of the Rt. Rev. Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D.D., D.C.L., late Bishop of Ohio, in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.* Edited by the Rev. William Carus, M.A., Canon of Winchester Cathedral, etc. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The present volume is interesting and instructive in a high degree. It is a collection of Memorials of Bishop McIlvaine, compiled out of his correspondence with Canon Carus, and from letters entrusted to him by the Bishop's family. A few extracts are given from his journals and writings, together with passages from Bishop A. Lee's

funeral-sermon and Bishop Bedell's diocesan address. The work, therefore, is merely what its title imports—*Memo-rials* of the Bishop; *fragments* only of his history and writings; worthy, it is thought, to be preserved, and useful, it may be, hereafter, for a *biography* of the Bishop." This statement expresses just what the reader is to look for in this volume.

That Bishop McIlvaine was a man of mark in the American Church, and that his influence was widely extended and powerful, is unquestionable. Especially was this seen in his urgency in behalf of the evangelical or low-church system, as opposed to the high-church views held and preached by numbers of the bishops and clergy; in his decided condemnation of the Oxford tract movement and its aiders and abettors; and in his abhorrence of the ritualistic advance of the present day. He had, as all men who take positive ground must have, ardent admirers and equally strenuous opponents, which latter said some pretty hard things about him. It may be, in our opinion it is, as yet, premature to attempt to fix Bishop McIlvaine's exact position in our Church history; for there has hardly sufficient time elapsed, since the controversies and difficulties which have beset the American Church were in full force, to allow a perfectly fair and equable judgment to be formed of the prominent actors and their works in the generation just passed away.

Whatever our sympathies may be, we have no desire to prejudge the question as to the second bishop of Ohio. His name and reputation are in the hands of those quite competent to see that justice is done; and when a complete and authorized biography appears, it will be a more fitting season than now to enter upon a review of his life and writings. Meanwhile, we commend the present volume to our readers as worthy their attention and regard.

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*William Lloyd Garrison and his Times.* By Oliver Johnson. New, Revised, and Enlarged Edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

While the public is waiting for the full biography of Mr. Garrison, as told by his sons, these sketches of the anti-slavery movement in America and of the man who was its founder and moral leader, though laying claim to no special literary merit, are both welcome and important. They may be relied upon for their facts. Mr. Johnson was

one of Mr. Garrison's associates and can vouch for what he says, having, in many instances, been an eye-witness of what he relates. The first edition of the book has been sharply criticised by the religious press for its statements in regard to the apathy of Christian people toward the anti-slavery cause, an apathy in which our own Church fully shared; but Mr. Johnson insists, in this new edition, that he has only told the unvarnished truth. The attitude of Christianity in America toward slavery had much to do with Mr. Garrison's personal religious development, and Mr. Johnson deserves abundant thanks for making the facts public. It was this man who, finding that the churches were against him, took counsel of God and of his own heart and fought the good fight of faith along the lines of his own conscience until, in the event, Christianity came to stand on the side of the slave. Valuable as this book is as far as it goes for an accurate history of that great movement which Mr. Garrison initiated, it is specially valuable as an authentic history of what must be called the tragedy of shame in which Christianity, at the hands of its leaders, all over the land, was obliged to play an inglorious part. The book is instructive reading, but it makes a man rather hang down his head with shame than swing his cap with joy. It must always be a blot upon our own Communion that, while the country trembled from end to end and everywhere with a political and moral agitation which involved the rights of man to the very depths, the Church, for the most part, had nothing to say beyond the mildest of apologies. There is much to be said by way of excuse; the circumstances were most peculiar; it is easy to award praise or blame after the event; and the compensations which grew out of the noble stand which the Church took as soon as the civil war was over, go far to atone for previous inaction; but it is still true that the Church of Christ can never wisely be silent when great moral questions are before the country. It is in this respect, and from this point of view, that Mr. Johnson's book conveys an important lesson. Mr. Garrison had the courage of his convictions, but he stood to the end without the Church and finally brought the Church to the position in which he stood from the beginning. It seems as if the time had come to say this as a matter of historical truth, and Mr. Johnson's book corroborates the fact. He has written one of the notable chapters in the history of America.

*Constantine the Great.* By the Rev. Edward S. Cutts, B.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

We know of no history of the times, work and character of Constantine the equal of this in interest. It is compendious and yet comprehensive, compressing into 422 pages what might have been elaborated into several volumes. The structure of the book is methodical both as to its chronology and its topics. It opens with a consideration of the condition of the Roman Empire previous to the election of Diocletian—gives a description and an analysis of his constitution for the government, of the home and outlying territory—presents the status of Christianity and his relation to it, with a graphic delineation of the successive persecutions of the Church—notices the abdication of Diocletian with brief sketches of his successors down to “the battle of Milvian Bridge,” after which brilliant success Constantine is acknowledged, and accepted, as the deliverer of Rome.

With him the political, social and moral régime enters upon a transition of real progress. The policy of the Government is changed and Christianity is accepted as a prominent factor of influence. While desisting from retaliatory persecution of the organized heathen religion, the Emperor enforces positive legislation in favor of the Divine faith, and in consequence of collision with his co-adjutor in the East, touching the oppression of the Church, a final victory is won over Licinius, and Constantine becomes sole Emperor of the East and the West.

The book is rich in diversified historical material. A very satisfactory account is given of the rise and progress of the Arian Controversy with descriptions of the councils of Nicæa and Tyre and of the delegates representative of the different provinces of the Church. The relation of the Eusebians to Arius and the difficulty of Athanasius in controverting the heretical doctrine and nullifying the false charges of his enemies are well and fully detailed.

The portrait of Constantine as a daring warrior, a great general, a wise statesman and a vigorous administrator, as his life develops, from its public opening to its close, in the magnificent new city, Constantinople, is distinctly and artistically drawn. As to the *essential* religious character of his hero the author leaves that to be judged from varying stand-points of time, and from comparison of different embodiments of the Christian faith.



We have not designed to give even a summary of the contents of this book, but merely to note their general character. We can assure those who are desirous of studying the time of Constantine that, in this book, they will have a good guide and teacher.

*The Life of Christ. By S. Bonaventura.* Translated and Edited by the Rev. W. H. Hatchings, M.A., Subwarden of the House of Mercy, Clewer. In fratre Bonaventurâ Adam pecâsse non videtur. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

As the translator confesses in the Introduction, "It must be borne in mind that Bonaventura is an Italian, a Franciscan, and that he lived in the thirteenth century; and will hardly, therefore, be expected to view things from the same standpoint as an Englishman, a man of the world and one whose lot is cast in the nineteenth century;" we may also add, one who has been brought up under the teaching of the Church of England. This is all true, and therefore while we acknowledge that there are many admirable and useful thoughts in this "Life," we cannot conscientiously recommend it as conveying a true notion of the life of Christ. The Editor indeed acknowledges that "lest some should take offence or alarm, here and there an expression has been slightly modified or left out with regard to the Mother of our Lord," and he allows that the author gives, because of his view as a Franciscan, undue prominence to the poverty of our Lord, representing him even as a mendicant "out of love for poverty," as though begging were more honorable or pious than honest industry, directly contrary to the apostolic rule, that we are to labor for our food. There is another very serious objection to this Life, which it shares more or less in common with all the Lives of Christ, viz. that where the Gospel narrative is silent, the author fills up the gaps from his own imagination of what might have been; and in this work most of the meditations are based on these imaginary scenes. There is a curious instance of this in the account of what took place after the Temptation. Holy Scripture simply states, that "Angels came und ministered unto Him." S. Bonaventura imagines these angels as asking what he would have to eat, and he bids them go to his dearest mother and bring to him some pottage and some bread, and a table-cloth and other necessaries; and perhaps the blessed mother purchased a few small fish, as far as

her means allowed, which also we can imagine that they took with them, etc. While there are many very good reflections in this book, there are also many puerile ones.

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*Young Folk's Heroes of History.—Raleigh.—His Exploits and Voyages.* By George Shakespeare Jowl. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

This book is in the line of its predecessors, and is their equal in elements of interest and in literary execution. Gallant and chivalric conduct, illustrating the dangers of adventure on land and sea, so presented as to stimulate a noble ambition and a lofty patriotism is its staple. The author, evidently, has his own ideal of the literature that should be furnished for the young. Doubtless he regards bald moral essays as inefficient if not repulsive and harmful. He chooses the concrete, and while eschewing all sentimental or wicked escapades he takes a theme that will enable him to employ veritable history to thrill the heart and nerve the will of his readers and beget in them the emprise of high endeavor in life.

As he guides the youth through the eventful and brilliant life of Raleigh and judiciously drops a comment of praise or blame as the occasion justifies he becomes a teacher, with exceptional opportunity to wield educational power of immense value. Such literature is nutritive of honor and all manly virtues and will fashion moral heroes. We commend this book to all Young Folk as safe, interesting and profitable.

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*Life of Voltaire.* By James Parton. In two Volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Parton here sets forth the personal and many-sided career of one who has been not unaptly called "the devil of the eighteenth century," who is spoken of as the father of the French Revolution, and who will always be known as one of the chief negative forces of the last century in Europe. He is not mistaken in the judgment that the life of Voltaire in its relation to his times was worth writing. His work is valuable, not as a history, not as a tracing of the sequences of events, but as a brilliant, rapid statement of facts. Mr. Parton does but one thing, and that he does consummately well; he is an unequalled reporter. This has been done on a large scale in these ample volumes. It is entirely superfluous to expect from Mr. Parton anything more, and if his pages are searched

for any critical judgment of Voltaire, anything that goes beneath the surface, the search will disclose nothing. Voltaire had no inward history and there is none to be told. He had, however, unequalled powers of activity, and the times were such that his special kind of activity could be employed, under the personal government which preceded the French Revolution, to the best advantage. It is just this outward activity which Mr. Parton most delights to report, and thus his work, which has been evidently a labor of love, is rarely well fitted to his talents. But if the reader finds only facts placed before him, not always in the best order, he still has the materials to form his own judgments, and it may with truth be said that nothing short of the *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, which extends to seventy volumes, in any sense approaches the wholeness of Mr. Parton's work. He has gathered up and condensed into it everything about his hero which is worth mentioning. The volumes are well equipped with a good index and page-headings for practical use, and belong to that class of books which one is compelled to read whether he wishes to or not. Mr. Parton hides nothing, apologizes for nothing. The statements are unvarnished and probably in most instances can be depended upon. It is a privilege to have the story of the intellectual life of Europe in the last century as vividly told as it comes from Mr. Parton's pen, and the *Life of Voltaire* will undoubtedly rank as his chief literary work.

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*Walter Savage Landor.* By Sidney Coloin, M.A. "English Men of Letters" Series. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This book is one of that admirable series of character-drawings that is supplying a great need for the dabbler in general literature, compelled to be only a dabbler by the pressure of special reading. It is a thoroughly readable volume, and yet one is sorry that he has read it; sorry, that is, that the truth must be told about the private life of men whose writings alone would have drawn a much more loveable picture. The present volume is nothing, if not truthful; and being truthful, it is a record of a gifted, original, and often charming nature, made unbearable every way and everywhere, by the single defect of a quarrelsome and impetuous temper. Even the few and select guests in the well-lighted dining room with whom Landor hoped to dine late, *i.e.*, his admirers among students of

this day must admit that a man who quarreled with his father before he was out of his teens, with his wife, with his neighbors, his tenants, his publishers, and his literary friends, is not a man to admire, even though he wrote Latin verses. Mr. Coloin does not spare him, though he claims many condoning qualities for him; and he has certainly made an entertaining book from the mixed material that was at his command. His general verdict upon Landon, with which we are not disposed to take issue, except in the high rating of the poet, is that of second place in poetry, first place in prose, originality of thought always, strong vigorous impulse of expression that sometimes falls short of its first promise, a general unhappiness in his own soul, and a power of making himself generally disagreeable to others. Is there any good reason why a literary man's private *character* should not enter into the estimate of his worth and determine his rank? Character does so enter in our judgments upon other professional men; and we believe it should here, and hope the plain truth-telling of this series will help on that end.

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*Ralph Waldo Emerson: His Life, Writings and Philosophy.* By George Willis Cooke. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

It is allowable to-day to write a man's life while he is still living. Statesmen like Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone are obliged to submit to this sort of glorification, but Mr. Emerson is the first man of letters who has been obliged to submit to this process before he has "shuffled off this mortal coil." Mr. Cooke began his work as an Emersonian enthusiast—and made so good a book that finally the family of Mr. Emerson recognized the value of the work and examined it with a view to secure its correction in matters of fact; and the result is not only such an account of Mr. Emerson as is perfectly proper, but an important work on the transcendental movement in New-England, in which Mr. Emerson was an unconscious leader. We have no space to go into details, but, speaking generally, Mr. Cooke has furnished a singularly valuable collection of materials for the study of New England literature through one of its leading minds and for the analysis of the religious forces which are at present working in New England thought.—The collection of materials is all that he aims at; but these materials show Mr. Emerson to be a symptomatic man, one who indicates the trend of his

generation in his own personality ; and they are so ample and so illustrative of all that has gone to make Mr. Emerson what he is, that the book commends itself to the study of all who are interested in the historical forces which have been concentrated in New England life and letters and religion.

#### V. FINE ARTS.

*L'Education de l'Artiste.* Par Ernest Chesneau. Paris : Charavay Frères.

This is by no means an ordinary work, presenting hackneyed rules for form, color, instruments and pigments, like those with which the book market—such is the fashion—is literally flooded at the present day,—but a thoughtful consideration of the true principles of art, and of what the education of the artist really implies.

The author begins with the bold assertion that everywhere in Europe the arts are not in a condition of progress, but of decadence. He grants an exception in favor of England, but it is only to add that there the progress is purely technical and that the aims are not high. This general decadence is due to the insufficient education of the artist: and this is in turn in a great measure because the best geniuses spring from the illiterate classes, and struggle with difficulties which they can never overcome. They strive after the vague and dazzling ideal, but cannot rise much above the moral and intellectual level of their origin. Art academies have not yet been based upon the true moral idea: they make skilled practitioners, but not artists.

First of all, the artist must be a philosopher as well as a painter or a chiseller; and a scholarly philosopher too. "By education," the author says, "is meant the complete mastery of intellectual aptitudes which nourish the imagination; the full development of the moral qualities, which are the keys of the sentiments and passions; experience of the social laws which enable one to judge of the needs of man, and to give them expression." He inveighs against cosmopolitan and traditional art, and speaks in favor of individualism and National schools.

Special pertinence is given to his inquiries by a comparison of the art of the world as represented in the International expositions held at Paris in 1867 and in 1878.

Where we might hope for signs of progress, he can find in the vast concourse of both exhibitions, "no original tendency, no promising outlook, no thought of the future." The revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848, did much to change the French people from "mere dull masses of humanity," and to make them in some degree thinking and æsthetic beings. Art should at once have seized the opportunity to address and elevate them, but it failed to do so, still presenting its works to a choice public (*un public d'élection*) instead of to the sentiments of the slowly rising people. "Even the more illustrious artists," he says, "affect to live outside of our preoccupations, of our speculations: they have but one dogma, and that is an idolatry,—the Pagan dogma of *beauty*." "The true aim of art is to manifest the human soul, all its emotions, all its sentiments, its troubles, its joys, its doubts, its passions and adorations, its loves and its hatreds, its failings and its hopes, its knowledge of the real and its aspirations after what lies beyond." The artist, using prescribed means and modes, must consult his own individuality, which is without limit as to time, which is immortal. Every thing truly individual in art appeals to the individuality of men; soul speaks to soul: it is thus that the old *Hôtel de ville* of Flanders and the Cathedral of Strasbourg move us so profoundly. The Parthenon is an individual thought; it has charmed the world; its copy in the Madeleine is disappointing and saddening. "Let a people," says the author, "use and act according to its own inspiration, setting aside foreign idolatries, consulting only its own originals; let it speak to crowds, in its simplicity the language of their race; renouncing anachronisms, let it assert the resources and the growing powers of its national genius;—and that people will have given to the art of Europe a great and salutary example; it will have re-established the life of art in all its morality—as a preliminary condition of its coming splendor; the name of such a people will remain dear to all history."

After several special chapters on the education of an artist in the principles thus laid down, the author divides the subject, for illustration, into numerous fields and applications of art; Religious Art; Heroic Art; High Art; Art historic, Archæologic and Ethnographic; Art and Nature; Art in its relations to rustic, modern and Parisian life; the French school of Art. He then gives brief comments upon the various European schools.

Something we should like to say, with our author's aid, concerning Religious Art: perhaps an opportunity will present itself hereafter. We close this notice by quoting from the very little he has to say of Art in the United States. A few clever Americans are studying in Paris, but "in all the great centres, in Boston, New York, and Chicago, Museums are being established, private enterprise is multiplying schools of design, methods of instruction are experimented upon, with an ardor, which will inevitably bear fruits. It is clear that also America is tending to enfranchise herself from the tribute which thus far she has been compelled to pay to the ancient world."

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*Monumental Christianity, or the Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church, as Witnesses and Teachers of the One Catholic Faith and Practice.* By John P. Lundy, Presbyter. Second edition. New York: J. W. Bouton, 1882.

Dr. Lundy's book (published originally in 1875) has reached a second edition, which, for a work of rare scholarship and ability such as this is, is a mark of public appreciation of which any one may justly be proud. To those of our readers who have not yet made acquaintance with the present volume we commend it as well deserving their attention and regard, being sure that it will open up to them a new and special source of enjoyment. Dr. Lundy's plan is to illustrate the ancient faith of the Church, as contained in substance in the Apostles' Creed, by the unimpeachable evidence of the monuments of Christian art; and he does this, article by article, with a fulness and completeness worthy of the subject as well as of his own deserved reputation in this department. His critical skill and sagacity are brought to bear in a most effective way, and though everybody will not perhaps be able to follow him understandingly in his profound researches and investigations, yet, we apprehend, there is no intelligent Churchman who will not be delighted to enter upon a topic so interesting and important, and note the light here thrown upon the truth and power of "the faith once for all delivered to the saints."

Dr. Lundy writes with energy and fearlessness, though he is occasionally careless in his style; and he does not hesitate to use plain language, where plain and straightforward speech is needed. He deprecates "pusillanimous Churchmanship," and "fanatical puritanism," quite as

much as the corruptions and abominations of Romanism, in its idolatry of the Virgin Mary, and its impudent assumption of papal infallibility. We should be glad to quote some trenchant passages from his book, but our present space does not admit of this, and our readers will readily discover them for themselves. It needs here only to say, that the volume is beautifully printed, has two hundred illustrations (some double and full page), and contains a full list of the rich store of works, in the author's library, on the subject of Monumental Christian art. The preface to the second edition is full and valuable, and Dr. Lundy has added two Appendixes and a much needed list of *errata*. Taken altogether the volume is highly creditable to the enterprising publisher, and is excellently adapted for a gift-book at the holiday or any other season.

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#### VI. GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Prosper Mérimée Lettres à M. Panizzi, 1850-1870.*  
Publiées par M. Louis Fagan, etc. Deux vols. Quatrième édition. Paris: Calmann Lévy.

French literature has been steadily gaining favor in the United States, owing to the increasing travel of our people abroad, and the facilities of communication and international exchange. Thanks to that excellent periodical, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, the best French writers are kept constantly before us, not in reviews of works which give us inadequate and one-sided views of the author's purpose, but in monographs by scholars and experts, on subjects of actual and great importance in Art, History, Poetry, Biography and Philosophy. American scholars are thus beginning to profit greatly by the productions of French genius and talent.

But unfortunately there is another and a less cheering view of the influence of French literature among us. There are large numbers of Americans, not scholarly or conscientious readers, but indolents and luxurious people, who delight in the warmly-colored scenes and prurient suggestions of French novels, issuing from a teeming press, and who find in them a spasmodic excitement for their distorted minds and effeminate tastes. They satisfy their consciences with the assertion, that all these modern stories, even those of the objective school of Zola, claim to



present a moral; if this be so they at least verify the poet's line, and

“Do mischievous foul sin in chiding sin.”

It is pleasant to have a better account to give of the volumes now before us.

The first of these, a work in two volumes, contains the letters of Prosper Mérimée to M. Panizzi.

Mérimée was a thorough Frenchman, of rather uncommon individuality and rare literary capacity; a gentleman of easy means, who seems to have drifted into the mode of life and the varied functions of his career. He was more of a courtier and a diplomat than a politician; a connoisseur in art; a director of the special amusements in the Imperial household,—at Compiègne, Fontainebleau and Biarritz, a senator of France, and beside all these a writer of untiring pen, who achieved reputation in the departments of Fiction and History. His novels, *Carmen* and *Les deux Héritages*, make good his claim in the former, while his merits as a student of History are attested by his *Episode de l'Histoire de Russie*, and his *Etudes,—sur l'Histoire Romaine*, and *sur les Arts au Moyen âge*. But above all and apart from all these studies, he is best known to the world as a voluminous letter-writer. Besides thousands of letters not published, there are three series of great interest, literary, historical and sentimental, which have delighted numerous readers;—*Lettres à une Inconnue; à une autre Inconnue*, and, finally those to M. Panizzi.

Before the establishment of the second empire he had become intimately acquainted with the countess de Montijo: one day a friend met him in the street in Paris, holding by the hand a beautiful little girl, six or seven years old. When asked who she was and where he was going with her, he said she was the daughter of the countess,—the little Eugénie de Téba, and that he was taking her to the confectioner to give her cakes and *bon-bons*. Neither he nor she thought that, twenty years after, that little girl would be Empress of France. When she came to the throne, she never forgot the cakes and *bon-bons*, and Mérimée was always *le bien-venu* at the palace, at breakfasts and dinners, *en petit comité*. As these letters show, he was able to counsel and even to contradict her to her own advantage.

So much for Mérimée, the writer of the letters: who was Panizzi? An Italian patriot and refugee, escaping

with his life and the clothes on his back; chased from Logano to Geneva, and thence to England. He taught Italian for bread in Liverpool; was made professor of that language and its literature in the University of London; was discovered, notwithstanding his poverty and modesty, to be a man of great bibliographic learning, and was appointed assistant Librarian to the British Museum. At last he became Director of the Museum, and, in spite of a senseless opposition, he remodelled and greatly improved it. After a long period of successful labor, he retired on a full pension, was created a K. C. B., and became a senator of regenerated Italy.

The correspondence between these two men originated in a proposal of Mérimée that the British Museum should purchase some copies of rare Vatican Manuscripts. It grew by affinity, became personal and confidential, and extended uninterruptedly from 1850, just before the rise of the Empire, to 1870, a few days after its downfall. Panizzi, always an Italian patriot, was on intimate terms with the leading statesmen of England, and was closely watching both English and Italian interests in France: Mérimée, who was equally concerned as to French interests in England and Italy, had the ear of the Emperor and Empress; and thus these letters bore discreet but semi-official messages and information from the one country to the other. We constantly meet such sentences as these:—"Take an opportunity of saying so and so to Lord Palmerston," or "to Mr. Gladstone": "*Notre ami de St. Cloud*," or "*Monsieur*," or "*Mon hôte de Biarritz*" expressed such sentiments,—these being the names of the Emperor. Thus, outside of the open and acknowledged diplomacy, we have the record of motives and actions as viewed by the highest political personages both in France and England. The editor is just in calling this series of letters "*Le second Empire raconté par Mérimée*,"—a history of the entire reign of Napoleon III, with interesting illustrative anecdotes of the Emperor, the Empress, and the principal persons of their court.

As to his own personality, the writer reminds us constantly, by his gossip and *nil admirari* criticisms, of Horace Walpole, but he was no idler and he had more heart. In some respects he is like Charles Greville, but Greville wrote his unimpassioned diary with a censorious purpose, while Mérimée can hardly have intended or expected the publication of these letters. As a politician and courtier,

he was a very mild type of the Bonapartist, caring more for the empress and her fortunes than for Napoleon and the empire. Entirely indifferent to religion, in both its Romanist and Protestant form, he was *un esprit Voltairien*, an avowed enemy of the Church in France and a sneerer at the Church in England. In one letter he says "Ask his Grace (the Archbishop of Canterbury) for his Apostolic Benediction,—but I would rather have one of his bottles of old wine." He had the worst possible opinion of America, and looks upon the killing of a hundred thousand or so of Yankees in our civil war, as a gain rather than a loss to humanity: he hoped they would realize the story of the Kilkenny cats. Just after the close of the war he writes:—"With a parliament of rabbles (*canaille*) like that of the United States, and a Senate presided over by a drunken tailor, who can say what crazy doings (*folies*) we shall see." Mr. Lincoln was "a first second rate man," and entirely too much fuss was made over his assassination. He was wilfully ignorant of our affairs. His last letter was written on the 13th of September, 1870, and he died on the 23d. Among his last utterances was *Finis Gallie*; he seems to have had no prescience of the wonderful energy and recuperation which have made France stronger to-day than before that fearful war.

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*The Emperor. A Romance* by George Ebers. From the German by Clara Bell. Two vols. New York: William Gottsberger.

This might better be called a biography of the Emperor Hadrian than a romance. For even where the writer has acted the part of a "retrospective seer" it is hard to divest one's mind of the idea that he is not reading the truest of historic narrative.

Without instituting a comparison between this and the other works of the great German writer, it can be said that this is a real work of art. It possesses all the beauty of romance and yet from page to page the reader feels that he is *learning*, and that his mind is being elevated. Mr. Ebers declares himself that it is mostly founded upon fact and that he has only drawn from his imagination when existing authorities did not allow him to be "exact and faithful." But he has never gone beyond what was possible at the time. The story covers the interesting epoch of the Roman dominion in Egypt.

"I have given years of study to the early youth of

Christianity, particularly in Egypt, and it affords me particular satisfaction to help others to realize how, in Hadrian's time the pure teaching of the *Saviour*, as yet little sullied by the contributions of human minds, conquered—and could not fail to conquer—the hearts of men. Side by side with the triumphant Faith I have set that noble blossom of Greek life and culture—art—which in later ages, Christianity—absorbed in order to dress herself in her beautiful forms.” This has added very much to the interest of the romance, and made it worthy of the highest commendation from the Christian press.

The excellent translation and beautiful volumes also deserve no common praise.

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*Aspects of Poetry*: Being Lectures delivered at Oxford. By John Campbell Shairp, LL.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This is by all odds the most important volume in a literary sense that Principal Shairp has written. It contains his mature and conscientious thought. His succession to Mr. Matthew Arnold as the Professor of Poetry at Oxford, marked the difference between a man who has imaginative insight into literature and one who brings to the study of thought and its expression a spiritual insight. His lectures in no sense constitute a treatise; they are on separate subjects, but from a general point of view they set forth poetry chiefly in its spiritual or ethical aspects. Principal Shairp feels profoundly the influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge and understands perhaps better than any writer of the day the spiritual elements in our elder and current literature. The titles of some of these lectures clearly indicate what he is aiming at,—such titles as “Criticism and Creation,” “The Spiritual Side of Poetry,” “The Poet a Revealer,” “Virgil as a Religious Poet,” “The Homeric Spirit in Walter Scott,” and the treatment of Carlyle and Cardinal Newman as prose-poets. The strength of his writing is not in its point or brilliancy but in its atmosphere, in its sense of what is behind and beyond language, in the great ethical forces which move the best minds to poetical expressions. Here Principal Shairp is at his best, and it is this kind of teaching which constitutes the chief value of those lectures.

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*The Great Western Series. Up the River, or Yachting on the Mississippi*, by Oliver Optic. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Doubtless there will be many regrets that this is the last of the series. We can easily imagine the mingled feelings of disappointment and hope agitating young breasts as their old friend drops into silence without announcing new pleasure in prospect. He has so long catered to the enjoyment of boys, and has so wisely intermixed the elements of adventure, fun and counsel, that his name is familiar in every household in the land, and both fathers and children alike regard him with affectionate reverence.

The title of this book tells its character. It is a story the events of which occurred in the east of Florida, in the Gulf of Mexico and on the Mississippi River. It comprises a variety of incident and no little valuable information. The volume and the series close with the return of the hero to his home in Michigan. He has had a chequered experience, marked by some folly and mistakes of judgment, but his character is not smirched, and his example is full of inspiration to others to choose "The straight and narrow path of duty."

Those who have had steamboat experience on the great Western River, will recognise the striking naturalness of the delineations. Whatever else has changed, in the onrush and enterprise of the last thirty or forty years, the river life of the boatmen seems to have been stereotyped from the start.

This book, like all from the same pen, is full of interest both as to actors and events. We commend the author that, during all the years of his writing, he has maintained pure moral teaching in connection with his portrayal of character and striking presentation of incident.

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*Plutarch's Essays.* With a Preface by the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., and an Introduction by Ralph Waldo Emerson, LL.D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

This volume includes about one half of the edition of Plutarch's "Morals" in five volumes, translated by various hands and edited by Prof. W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University, which was issued by the same house in 1878, this itself being a re-issue of the London edition which appeared in 1694. Plutarch needs no praise from the moderns, but Mr. Emerson's introduction is so like Plutarch, while commending him, that it is the most fitting plea for the reading of Plutarch that could be desired. Mr. Emerson ascribes to him "that universal sympathy with genius

which makes all its victories his own," and marks him as "a chief example of the illumination of the intellect by the force of morals." He ranks him "among prose-writers, what Chaucer is among English poets, a repertory for those who want the story without searching for it at first hand." It is eminently fitting that the Harvard Professor of Morals should write the preface to this edition. He calls special attention to two pieces in the selection, which in their respective veins he thinks are unsurpassed if not unrivalled. One is on "The Delay of the Divine Retribution," and the other is Plutarch's "Consolatory letter to his Wife," on the death of a child during his absence from home. The publishers have spared no pains to bring out the present volume in fine style, and the price will put it into the hands of hundreds who would like to place it alongside of the one-volume edition of Plutarch's "Lives," published by the same House. The two books are the most desirable editions to be had.

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*Souvenirs d'un Vieux Critique.* Par A. de Pontmartin. Première Série. Paris: Calman Lévy.

Monsieur de Pontmartin has given in these recollections the results of a literary taste formed before the present so-called realistic school in France had, by virtue of the talent at its command, and the tendency of the French nation to excess in the novelty of the moment, debased the standard of merit to its own low level.

We can only mention the opening essay upon Barryer—Le Roman Experimental Catherine D'Aragnon and the final essay upon Émile Zola as indicative of the character of the book. The author shows a thorough knowledge of his subject, and his style is characterized by a gravity, which added to critical talent of a high order, and the felicity of expression peculiar to his race, render the book a most interesting one. We recommend it to any lover of French literature.

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*Pictures and Legends from Normandy and Brittany.* By Thomas and Katharine Macquoid. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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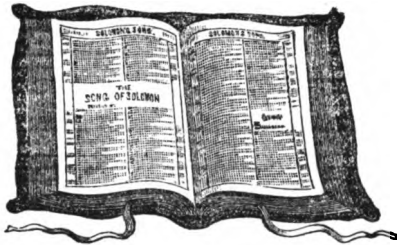
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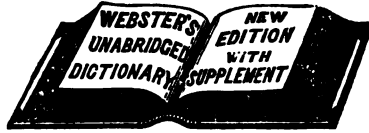
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